

THE STRENGTH OF THE CITY: MORALE IN THUCYDIDES' *HISTORIES*

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THE STRENGTH OF THE CITY: MORALE IN THUCYDIDES' *HISTORIES*

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This thesis is a study of morale in Thucydides' *Histories*. As a general himself, Thucydides had firsthand knowledge of the importance of soldiers' morale, and his emphasis on seeing the entirety of the war shows that he was also able to observe the collective morale of city-states over the long term (5.26.5). Each chapter investigates the use of one term that relates to morale in Thucydides' narrative and earlier literature. Word studies of *andreia*, *tolma*, *prothumia*, and *rhome* show how the Greek language was being adapted over the course of the 5th century to allow greater abstraction and facilitate theoretical discourse. In addition, the results of these studies reveal the central role of morale in Thucydides' *Histories*. Morale is not just the confidence of a single soldier; it has to do with a group's collective response to adversity and danger. The group can be a contingent in an army, an entire army, a city-state, or a confederation. The shared values of the group will determine when and how its members willingly risk death, which is the ultimate proof of good morale. Thucydides represents a clash of two very different Greek city-states, whose customs and values affect the way they wage war and respond on the battlefield. In books six and seven, morale becomes a major theme, as Thucydides repeatedly returns to the mindset of the Athenians, Syracusans, Lacedaemonians, and Corinthians. The confidence (*rhome*) and enthusiasm (*prothumia*) of Athens' enemies keep increasing, until

the morale (*rhōmē*) of the Athenians in Sicily totally disintegrates because Athens shows too much boldness (*tolma*) rather than courage (*andreia*). Although the terms and methods of analysis constantly evolve, morale remains a chief concern even in contemporary conflicts. The tensions between conservative and innovative, daring and cautious that so deeply affected the course of the Peloponnesian War have wider resonance. Despite the great differences in time, technology, and resources, the human element of warfare remains much the same. By understanding why the Greeks fought and died two and a half millennia ago, we will better recognize our own feelings about and responses to war.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Andrew William Sweet was born on March 5, 1981 to William and Nancy Sweet in Fort Wayne, Indiana. He graduated from South Side High School in 2000 and attended Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio, earning a BA in Political Science and Classics in 2004 and achieving high honors with distinction in Classics. In August of 2004, he entered the PhD program in Classics at Cornell University and subsequently spent the 2007-2008 academic year as a regular member of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

For my parents

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Hornblower 1	Hornblower (1991)
Hornblower 2	Hornblower (1996)
Hornblower 3	Hornblower (2009)
Lewis and Short	Andrews (1966)
LSJ	Liddell (1996)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

*À la guerre, les trois quarts sont des affaires morales, la balance des forces réelles n'est que pour un autre quart – Napoleon Bonaparte.*¹

1.1 The Importance of Morale

Thucydides opens his work: Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων,² announcing immediately that his subject is war. In fact, following Herodotus and Thucydides, ancient historians concentrate primarily on war.³ Thucydides' choice of subject matter was so influential that he is even held to be responsible for historians' long focus on wars and political affairs to the exclusion of all else.⁴ And yet, Thucydides' work is not simply a narrative of successive battles and political meetings; he also frequently relates the thoughts, motivations, and feelings of both notable individuals and groups. Thucydides, himself an Athenian general at one time,⁵ shows a keen appreciation of morale's central role in warfare. This view inside the minds of the participants makes a study of morale in Thucydides possible, and the overwhelming importance of morale in warfare makes this study desirable. The recent interest in ancient warfare, especially

¹ Baynes (1967) 94.

² Thucydides 1.1.1: "Thucydides the Athenian composed the war of the Peloponnesians and the Athenians." Translations are my own unless otherwise noted. Thucydides will hereafter be abbreviated T in the footnotes.

³ Mitchell (1996) 88.

⁴ Hornblower (1987) 7, 30.

⁵ T 4.104.4, 5.26.5.

hoplite warfare, by scholars such as Hanson, Lendon, van Wees, and others provides excellent background for my inquiry.⁶ Studies of morale and courage in 20th century conflicts, particularly soldiers' accounts, will also be important *comparanda*.⁷ Despite the great temporal and technological divide, the human experience of warfare in the greatest war of the 5th century BCE and the great wars of the 20th century CE remains much the same. As Thucydides himself explains, studying his work will benefit anyone who wants to understand the past and the future better as long as the human element remains much the same.⁸

Modern commentators recognize morale as the single most important factor in warfare.⁹ Battle, especially in the pre-modern era, is normally decided by soldiers' willingness to fight. Tactics matter less than morale, since dispirited men will not execute a plan no matter how brilliant it may be.¹⁰ Likewise, the morale of a city-state or country typically determines victory in war. Often the most successful strategies in war are those that damage an opposing city-state or country psychologically rather than militarily or economically. To put it another way, making an enemy think one possesses overwhelming force is as good as actually possessing it. And yet a group with good morale can recover even from a defeat that causes great loss of life and matériel.¹¹

⁶ Hanson (1991, 2000, 2005), Mitchell (1996), Lendon (2005), van Wees (2000).

⁷ Baynes (1967) vii-ix; Moran (1987) xi-xiii; both served in World War I and then ultimately published their books after World War II.

⁸ T 1.22.4.

⁹ Baynes (1967) 92; Moran (1987) xv.

¹⁰ Baynes (1967) 93; Lendon (1999) 290-295, who discusses the privileging of psychological factors over τὰ τακτικά in Xenophon's works.

¹¹ For example, Rome after Cannae or the United States after Pearl Harbor.

The word morale comes into English, through French, from Latin *moralis*,¹² which was coined by Cicero:¹³ “quia pertinet ad mores, quos ἠθῆ Graeci vocant, nos eam partem philosophiae de moribus appellare solemus. Sed decet augentem linguam Latinam nominare moralem.”¹⁴ Although Cicero coined *moralis* specifically in reference to moral philosophy, it came to be used as the adjective for all the meanings of *mos*, habit or custom.¹⁵ The English derivative ‘moral’ refers more generally to something related to human character or behavior considered as good or bad, but it can be used in the specific sense of “[d]esignating the incidental effect of an action or event (e.g. a victory or defeat) in producing confidence or discouragement, sympathy or hostility, etc;” and it was rarely even used in the now obsolete sense “of or relating to morale.”¹⁶ Originally, the noun morale, formed by confusion with the French feminine noun *morale* or with the final ‘e’ added to reflect the pronunciation, meant the “morals or morality of a person or group of people; moral principles or conduct,” although this sense is now rare.¹⁷ Like the related French masculine noun *moral*, the English noun morale is now typically restricted to what was once a specialized meaning of the adjective from which it is derived, namely “the mental or emotional state (with regard to confidence, hope, enthusiasm, etc.) of a person or group engaged in some activity; degree of contentment with one's lot or situation.”¹⁸

¹² Oxford English Dictionary Online (s.v. morale, etymology; moral, etymology).

¹³ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary (s.v. *moralis*).

¹⁴ Cicero *Fat.* 1, 1. “Because it pertains to *mores*, which the Greeks call *ethe*, we are accustomed to call this branch of philosophy *de moribus*. But the growing Latin language should designate it moral philosophy.”

¹⁵ Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary (s.v. *moralis*).

¹⁶ Oxford English Dictionary Online (s.v. moral *adj.*, especially 3d and 8); compare Napoleon’s usage of the French adjective *moral* on p. 1.

¹⁷ Oxford English Dictionary Online (s.v. morale *n.*).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Often, the ‘activity’ mentioned in the *Oxford English Dictionary* definition is war, as the examples it gives attest. The frequent military undertones are suitable because morale is the single most important factor in war, and as such is a great concern to military leaders and countries at war.¹⁹ Thus, the English word morale has come to refer only to a limited subset of a man’s habits and character, namely what is related to his response to danger and adversity. John Baynes concludes his chapter on morale with this definition of military morale:

High morale is the most important quality of a soldier. It is a quality of mind and spirit which combines courage, self-discipline, and endurance. It springs from infinitely varying and sometimes contradictory sources, but is easily recognizable, having as its hall-marks cheerfulness and unselfishness. In time of peace good morale is developed by sound training and the fostering of *esprit de corps*. In time of war it manifests itself in the soldier’s absolute determination to do his duty to the best of his ability in any circumstances. At its highest peak it is seen as an individual’s readiness to accept his fate willingly even to the point of death, and to refuse all roads that lead to safety at the price of conscience.²⁰

But ‘mental or emotional state’ or a ‘quality of mind and spirit’ is rather vague, and it should be possible to identify some of the causes of lasting high morale. Herbert Lord, a professor of philosophy writing after World War I, gives a more useful definition of morale as “a structure of the mind involving at once and together ideas for the intellect, emotions for the heart, and action for the hand.... It is a mechanism that ideals set acting into emotions and deeds.”²¹ He argues that training and experience are necessary for this structure to develop correctly.²² Modern professional armies require extensive training,

¹⁹ Baynes (1967) 92.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 108.

²¹ Lord (1918) 146.

²² *Ibid.*, 106-123.

but most ancient Greek soldiers were comparatively untrained. As its etymology suggests, morale is intimately related to habits and character.²³ Morale, therefore, describes the mental state of a soldier on the battlefield, where the soldier's values and experience determine under what circumstances and how long he will privilege his duty over his life.

1.2 Morale in Thucydides' Histories

This definition is the most appropriate for a study of morale in Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian War, but it can be applied collectively as well as individually. Morale is not just the confidence of a single soldier; it has to do with a group's collective response to adversity and danger. The group can be a contingent in an army, an entire army, a city-state, or a confederation. The shared values of the group will determine when and how willingly its members risk death, which is the ultimate proof of good morale. The ideals of different societies lead to different morales; some morales are better both because they are less likely to degrade and because "the deeds that characterize them are of higher social value."²⁴ Thucydides represents a clash of two very different Greek city-states, whose customs and institutions affect the way they wage war and respond on the battlefield. Speakers in the *Histories* make this point explicitly. Before the outbreak of the war, the Corinthians warn the Lacedaemonians that they and the Athenians are two very different peoples.²⁵ In the funeral oration, Pericles talks at length about

²³ *Ibid.*, 145; cf. T 2.61.4

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 145.

²⁵ T 1.70.

the social, political, and technological differences between Sparta and Athens and how these affect their citizens' mindset in war.²⁶

My dissertation, therefore, investigates morale in Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian War. Yet morale in the Peloponnesian War is an extremely broad subject, so I have chosen to limit my study in two important ways. First, I focus especially on morale in the war in Sicily, since the Syracusans' political similarities to the Athenians lead Thucydides to emphasize the mental more than the technological or economic differences between the two warring cities.²⁷ Second, I strive to keep my analysis firmly grounded in the Greek text of Thucydides, since lumping together Greek words that can be translated the same way in English (or French) risks creating connections that Thucydides himself did not intend.²⁸ Within this interpretive framework, I identify and study specific psychological factors that Thucydides believed were responsible for individual victories and defeats as well as the course of the entire Peloponnesian War. This project will not, therefore, be an exhaustive account of Thucydides' psychological vocabulary.²⁹ Instead, I focus on a handful of recurrent word roots that represent themes in Thucydides' analysis of the war, in order to show what role Thucydides thought the morale of different soldiers and cities played in the Peloponnesian War.

²⁶ T 2.39.

²⁷ For instance, T 8.96.5, where Thucydides says that the clash of the Syracusans and the Athenians shows how great an advantage the different character of the Lacedaemonians and Athenians gave to Athens during the war.

²⁸ For instance, both Smoes (1995) 88-97 and Balot (2001, 2004) analyze "courage" in Thucydides as expressed variously by ἀνδρεία, εὐψυχία, and the phrase κράτιστοι ψυχὴν.

²⁹ See Huart (1968) for such an account.

My dissertation takes the form of a group of thematic studies, each focusing on a specific word root that is central to Thucydides' understanding of morale. Every chapter defines a key term that Thucydides uses to describe the psychology of war the war in Sicily, although I discuss Thucydides' passages from throughout his work. My primary goal is to elucidate the mental qualities that enabled the Syracusans to overcome the greatest military expedition of the Classical period, but a complete understanding requires an investigation of these themes in all eight books. In many cases, the terms that I identify have nominal, verbal, and adjectival forms. I tend to refer to the concepts by the abstract noun, but I discuss Thucydides' usage in the introduction to each chapter. This project began with an exhaustive study using what Martin Ostwald, introducing his study of θεσμός and νόμος, calls the "semantic method," which "proceeds inductively from the particular contexts in which each of the ... terms is found, in order to define the variety of usage of each in different areas of Greek thought and action."³⁰ This model of semantics, essentially formulated by Plato and Aristotle, holds that a category has a definition, items in the world either fall under a concept or they do not, and all members of a category are equally representative of it, because the properties defining the category are shared by all members.³¹

Yet Ineke Sluiter and Ralph Rosen, in their introduction to an edited volume on ἀνδρεία in the ancient world, challenge this model by pointing to research in cognitive psychology and linguistics showing that mental categories have an internal structure in which some members are "best examples" or

³⁰ Ostwald (1969) 10; collection and analysis of all psychological terms in Thucydides has been done by Huat (1968), but limiting my study to a few concepts that I can treat with more detail, while carefully distinguishing Thucydides' own usage from that of the speeches, will enable me to refine Huat's work in important ways.

³¹ Sluiter and Rosen (2003) 5.

“prototypes.”³² They go on to argue that the frequent Socratic interlocutors who try to define a concept using examples may not be as wrong as Socrates makes them out to be in a number of Plato’s dialogues.³³ Whether or not Plato is accurately depicting a feature of Pre-Socratic thought shared by Thucydides, recognizing certain usages as prototypical is appropriate for analysis of the kind of ‘paradigmatic’ history that Thucydides wrote.³⁴

In her study of the process of abstraction in Thucydides’ work, June Allison even lays out some criteria for identifying Thucydides’ key usages. According to her argument, the abstract nouns formed from a given stem are often the most important usages, since they represent higher levels of the “cognitive process” that Thucydides invites his reader to share in.³⁵ Although she admits that “substitution of the noun for the related verb is common,” Allison herself focuses on rarer abstracts and words that appear to be coined by Thucydides.³⁶ Nevertheless, she shows that repetition of words from the same stem is one of Thucydides’ principal methods of highlighting major themes, while focusing especially on the abstracts that mark the culmination of this thematic repetition.³⁷ Rather than focusing solely on Thucydides’ highest levels of analysis, I have chosen to trace certain themes throughout the whole of the *Histories*. My aim is to unpack passages of high level Thucydidean analysis relating to morale by following certain thematic repetition throughout the work.

³² *Ibid.*, 6.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Hornblower (1987) 41-42; see section 1.4 below for more on Thucydides’ paradigmatic approach to writing history.

³⁵ Allison (1997a) 17.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 35-44.

Two passages, one from book six and one from seven, most clearly reveal Thucydides' analysis of morale in the latter part of the Peloponnesian War. Both passages contain abstract nouns describing the mental qualities of the combatants, and the importance of Thucydides' explicit analysis here has led to my choice of chapter topics. The first explains the Syracusans' defeat in the first major land battle in Sicily, and the second concerns the morale of the Peloponnesians before they begin invading Attica again and fortify Decelea. A comment by Thucydides about the battle of the Athenians and the Syracusans at the Anapus River gives a comprehensive view of the mental qualities that determined success in this part of the war. Although Thucydides is addressing why the Syracusans lost this particular battle, he also makes a general point about Syracusan morale:

οὐ γὰρ δὴ προθυμία ἐλλειπεῖς ἦσαν οὐδὲ τόλμη οὔτ' ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ οὔτ' ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις, ἀλλὰ τῇ μὲν ἀνδρεία οὐχ ἥσσους ἐς ὅσον ἢ ἐπιστήμη ἀντέχοι, τῷ δὲ ἐλλείποντι αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν βούλησιν ἄκοντες προουδίδουσιν.³⁸

This sentence occurs in connection with a land battle that serves as a paradigm of hoplite battles in this period of the war.³⁹ The first clause attributes προθυμία and τόλμα to the Syracusans in this and the other battles, which should be taken to include sea battles as well as land battles. The second half of the sentence seems to apply only to this battle, since the inexperience of the Syracusans is contrasted with the experience of the Athenians and their allies in the battle description.⁴⁰ Although in this instance

³⁸ T 6.69.1: "In fact, they were not deficient in enthusiasm or daring either in this battle or in the others; and they were no worse in courage as long as their knowledge held out, but when it ran short they unwillingly gave up their resolve as well."

³⁹ Mitchell (1996) 92; there were light armed troops taking part in this battle, but Thucydides dismisses them as unimportant (6.69.2).

⁴⁰ T 6.70.1: τοῖς μὲν πρῶτον μαχομένοις (the Syracusans) ... τοῖς δ' ἐμπειροτέροις (the Athenians).

the battle is decided by knowledge rather than morale, Thucydides' insistence on the ἀνδρεία, προθυμία, and τόλμα of the Syracusans reflects their ultimate success against the Athenians. In many cases, τόλμα is associated with the Athenians while ἀνδρεία is associated with the Lacedaemonians, so the combination of the two qualities is especially significant.⁴¹ Furthermore, the phrase "neither in this battle nor the others" cues the reader that the interplay between the Syracusans' knowledge of warfare and their mental qualities will become important in later battles, a point driven home by the paraphrase of Hermocrates' encouragement to spend the winter training.⁴²

While I return a number of times to the interplay between ἐπιστήμη and the other qualities identified above, ἐπιστήμη does not receive separate treatment in its own chapter. Scholars have long recognized that a major theme of Thucydides' account of the Sicilian expedition is the Syracusans' acquisition of the knowledge and skill that allows them to defeat the Athenians.⁴³ Although she does not explicitly mention ἐπιστήμη in her analysis of the complex of speech and narrative that precedes the Athenian defeat in the Great Harbor at Syracuse, she identifies the Syracusans' tactical calculations in 7.36 as the most important indicator of Thucydides' rationalized *schema* of this crucial battle.⁴⁴ Thucydides himself summarizes this passage as the Syracusans' calculations regarding their ἐπιστήμη and δύναμις.⁴⁵ Thus, Romilly's argument shows that in this episode Thucydides essentially confirms the argument of the Corinthians in book one that the Peloponnesians

⁴¹ Allison (1997a) 33 n30.

⁴² T 6.72.

⁴³ Romilly (1956) 150-161 presents an extremely perceptive argument to this effect.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 152.

⁴⁵ T 7.37.1: Τοιαῦτα οἱ Συρακόσιοι πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιστήμην τε καὶ δύναμιν ἐπινοήσαντες.

can gain ἐπιστήμη and will obliterate the Athenians' advantage in ἐπιστήμη with practice.⁴⁶

Since it is clear that the acquisition of ἐπιστήμη is crucial to success in war, I focus on the other aspects of Syracusan morale mentioned in 6.69 in order to show whether or not Thucydides believes they can be acquired or lost. I also seek to find out whether or not these mental qualities are necessary for victory and if they can be excessive or harmful. Finally, I show how and when these terms are interrelated. The results of this line of inquiry will reveal not only how the Syracusans maintained their morale in the face of the greatest Greek military expedition up to their time but also why an Athenian force of such overwhelming power failed so utterly. At the same time, a better understanding of the relationship between προθυμία, τόλμα, ἀνδρεία and morale also sheds light on Thucydides' conception of the role of men's hearts and minds in warfare more generally.

A second passage enables me to identify one more term that is crucial for understanding Thucydides' analysis of morale. Although this passage concerns the spirit of the Lacedaemonians rather than that of the Syracusans or Athenians, it also reveals a striking instance of Thucydidean analysis of morale. Furthermore, just as ἀνδρεία and τόλμα form a pair in Thucydides' text, this passage reveals that Thucydides pairs προθυμία with the term ῥώμη. A good illustration of the link between being πρόθυμος and having ῥώμη is Thucydides' description of Lacedaemonian morale after Alcibiades' defection:

μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐγγένητό τις ῥώμη, διότι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐνόμιζον διπλοῦν τὸν πόλεμον ἔχοντας, πρὸς τε σφᾶς καὶ Σικελιώτας, εὐκαθαιρετωτέρους ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τὰς σπονδὰς

⁴⁶ T 1.121.4.

προτέρους λελυκέναι ἡγοῦντο αὐτούς· ἐν γὰρ τῷ προτέρῳ πολέμῳ σφέτερον τὸ παρανόμημα μᾶλλον γενέσθαι, ὅτι τε ἐς Πλάταιαν ἦλθον Θηβαῖοι ἐν σπονδαῖς, καὶ εἰρημένον ἐν ταῖς πρότερον ξυνθήκαις ὅπλα μὴ ἐπιφέρειν, ἣν δίκας ἐθέλωσι διδόναι, αὐτοὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουον ἐς δίκας προκαλουμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰκότως δυστυχεῖν τε ἐνόμιζον, καὶ ἐνεθυμοῦντο τὴν τε περὶ Πύλον ξυμφορὰν καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς τριάκοντα ναυσὶν ἐξ Ἄργους ὁρμώμενοι Ἐπιδαύρου τέ τι καὶ Πρασιῶν καὶ ἄλλα ἐδήλωσαν καὶ ἐκ Πύλου ἅμα ἐλυστεύοντο, καὶ ὁσάκις περὶ του διαφοράι γένοιτο τῶν κατὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ἀμφισβητουμένων, ἐς δίκας προκαλουμένων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐκ ἠθελον ἐπιτρέπαι, τότε δὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι νομίσαντες τὸ παρανόμημα, ὅπερ καὶ σφίσι πρότερον ἡμάρτητο, αὖθις ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ αὐτὸ περιστάναι, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον.⁴⁷

Huart uses this passage to show that *ῥώμη* and *προθυμία* are essentially synonymous,⁴⁸ and yet there may be a subtle distinction. *Ῥώμη* in the first sentence describes Lacedaemonian morale based on their judgment of the enemy's difficult strategic position and their own feelings of moral justification, as the parallelism between the clauses introduced by *διότι* and *καὶ ὅτι* shows. *Πρόθυμοι* in the later sentence describes the Lacedaemonians' feeling toward the war based specifically on the belief that Athens is currently in the wrong. Although Thucydides can sometimes use two similar words as synonyms,⁴⁹

⁴⁷ 7.18.2-3: "A certain strength most of all had come to the Lacedaemonians, since they believed that Athenians, with a two-front war on their hands, against the Lacedaemonians and the Sicilians, would be more easily subdued; and because they thought the Athenians had broken the treaty first. In the earlier conflict, they thought they themselves were more at fault, since the Thebans attacked Plataea under treaty; and because it was stipulated in the earlier treaty that they would not take up arms if the two parties were willing to participate in arbitration, but they did not submit to arbitration when the Athenians asked. Therefore, they believed it was right to suffer misfortune, and they took to heart the disaster at Pylos and anything else that happened to them. But after the Athenians setting off from Argos with thirty ships were ravaging the lands of Epidaurus, Prasiae, and other places and were mounting raids from Pylos, and were not willing to participate in arbitration whenever differences arose concerning something agreed in the treaty, even though the Lacedaemonians called for arbitration; then the Lacedaemonians considered the same fault that had formerly been their own to be the Athenians' and were enthusiastic for war."

⁴⁸ Huart (1968) 417 n 3.

⁴⁹ See, for instance, Desmond (2006) 361 n 6 on *phobos* and *deos*.

the grammatical structure here suggests a significant difference between *ῥώμη* and *προθυμία*. *Προθυμία* describes the combatants' willingness to fight based on their emotions and moral outrage. *ῥώμη*, on the other hand, refers both to the Lacedaemonians' willingness to fight and to their belief, based on their knowledge of the Athenians' difficult strategic position,⁵⁰ that they are more likely to win the war than in the initial phase. The confidence or enthusiasm described by *ῥώμη* may, therefore, have a rational component that makes it something like *προθυμία* combined with concrete reasons for expecting success.⁵¹

1.3 Scholarly Models of Archaic and Classical Warfare

Because morale is so deeply linked to values, it is necessary to discuss some contemporary scholars' views of how the Greeks of the Archaic and Classical periods made war and what beliefs informed these modes of fighting. Thucydides himself notes the close connection between agrarian societies and the rise of major land wars, explaining that early Greece's lack of static populations, surplus capital, and developed agriculture precluded the formation of *δύναμις* on land.⁵² Warriors in this period wore light armor or

⁵⁰ See also T 6.93.1, where the Lacedaemonians are moved by the advice of Alcibiades to fortify Decelea because they understand that he knows best how to combat the Athenians.

⁵¹ A fuller discussion of the differences and similarities between these two terms appears in chapters four and five.

⁵² Hanson (2000) 203, citing Thucydides' characterization of Archaic Greek cities in 1.2.2: νεμόμενοί τε τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν καὶ περιουσίαν χρημάτων οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ γῆν φυτεύοντες, ἄδηλον ὃν ὁπότε τις ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἅμα ὄντων ἄλλος ἀφαιρήσεται, τῆς τε καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς πανταχοῦ ἂν ἡγούμενοι ἐπικρατεῖν, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπανίσταντο, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὔτε μεγέθει πόλεων ἴσχυον οὔτε τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ "cultivating no more of their territory than the exigencies of life required, destitute of capital, never planting their land (for they could not tell when an invader might not come and take it all away, and when he did come they had no walls to stop him), thinking that the necessities of daily sustenance could be supplied at one place as well as another, they cared little for shifting their habitation, and consequently neither built large cities nor attained

none at all and carried a small shield, fighting in a wide-open formation with no distinction between archers and javelin-throwers.⁵³ Modern scholarship on the history of Greek warfare has focused on the development and importance of the hoplite phalanx, a close formation often linked with the agrarian values of the *polis*.⁵⁴ The word ὀπλίτης first appears in Pindar and Aeschylus as an adjective, and by the second half of the fifth century the noun became common.⁵⁵ The noun refers to a “man comprehensively tooled up, geared up, to fight; the man equipped with the full tackle of war.”⁵⁶ The full hoplite panoply consisted of an eight to ten foot thrusting spear, short swords, a bronze helmet, bronze greaves, and a cuirass of bronze, linen, or leather; the most important part was the circular shield, about thirty inches in diameter, with an arm strap and grip at the rim and made of wood or leather faced in bronze.⁵⁷

The archaeological record shows that hoplite armor was in use by the end of the eighth century, which suggests a tactical shift among Greeks in the Archaic Period toward close combat.⁵⁸ Despite typological variations in armor, “we can see a continuity from the second half of the eighth century to the beginning of the fifth century, and in fact into the Classical and Hellenistic

to any other form of greatness.” (trans. Crawley); and 1.15.2-3, which identifies the Lelantine war of c. 700 BCE as the first κατὰ γῆν πόλεμος, ὅθεν τις καὶ δύναμις παρεγένετο “war by land, whence also some sort of empire came about.”

⁵³ Van Wees (2000) 155.

⁵⁴ See especially the works of V. D. Hanson, J. Lazenby, J. E. Lendon, W. K. Pritchett, and H. van Wees in the bibliography.

⁵⁵ Lazenby and Whitehead (1996) 32: Pindar *Isthmian* 1.23 (referring to the *hoplitodromos*); Aeschylus *Seven Against Thebes* 467, 717; cf. Aeschylus *Persai* 379 πᾶς θ’ ὀπλῶν ἐπιστάτης (referring to the soldiers defeated at Salamis).

⁵⁶ Lazenby and Whitehead (1996) 33.

⁵⁷ *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (1993), s. v. hoplites.

⁵⁸ Van Wees (2000) 134.

Periods to a considerable extent.”⁵⁹ The full panoply could weigh as much as seventy pounds; but not all hoplites wore greaves, and a cuirass of linen or leather would be considerably lighter than one of bronze.⁶⁰ Furthermore, literary and iconographical evidence suggests that hoplites in the mid-seventh century were equipped with javelins or throwing spears, rather than the thrusting spears of the phalanx.⁶¹ Yet the lack of depictions of throwing spears in the last quarter of the seventh century suggests a decline in the use of the javelin relative to the thrusting spear, a development that brings us closer to the tactics of the “classical phalanx.”⁶²

Homer praises the heroes of epic for many qualities, but the physical and mental qualities necessary for success in mass formations differ somewhat.⁶³ Skill with a bow and swiftness of foot are no longer prized, and holding one’s ground, what Lendon calls “passive courage,” becomes the standard of martial virtue.⁶⁴ Tyrtaeus, a Spartan poet of the Archaic period, gives an explicit definition of martial virtue and the good man, which Lendon uses to illustrate his definition of passive courage:

ἢ δ’ ἀρετή, τόδ’ ἄεθλον ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἄριστον
 κάλλιστόν τε φέρειν γίνεται ἀνδρὶ νέωι.
 ξυμὸν δ’ ἐσθλὸν τοῦτο πόλῃ τε παντί τε δήμῳ,
 ὅστις ἀνὴρ διαβὰς ἐν προμάχοισι μένηι
 νωλεμέως, αἰσχροῦς δὲ φυγῆς ἐπὶ πάγχυ λάθεται,
 ψυχὴν καὶ θυμὸν τλήμονα παρθέμενος,
 θαρσύνῃ δ’ ἔπῃσιν τὸν πλησίον ἄνδρα παρεστώς·
 οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίνεται ἐν πολέμῳ.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Jarva (1995) 159.

⁶⁰ Rawlings (2000) 246; Jarva (1995) 156-158.

⁶¹ Van Wees (2000) 147-148.

⁶² *Ibid.* 149.

⁶³ Lendon (2005) 46-49.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 50; Lazenby (1991) 103.

⁶⁵ Lendon (2005) 50; Tyrtaeus 12.14-20: “This is virtue, this is the best prize among men and the most noble for a young man to win. This is a shared good for the city and all the people: when someone has planted his feet firmly and endures among the front ranks unceasingly,

Unlike Callinus, Tyrtaeus nowhere in the surviving fragments calls for throwing spears, which may be linked to the decline of throwing spears in art noted above.⁶⁶ Yet in the poems of Tyrtaeus the light armed (γυμνήτης) mingle freely with the heavy infantry in one, undifferentiated formation, and missiles play an important role in combat.⁶⁷ As formations grew closer at the end of the seventh century, the archer was reduced from a prominent and independent position to dependence on the hoplite for defense; at the same time, the transition from javelins to thrusting spears marks the emergence of the fully armed hoplite discussed above.⁶⁸

The beginning of the hoplite era is conventionally attributed to the Lelantine war between the Chalcidians and the Eretrians, said by Strabo to have involved an agreement not to use missiles:⁶⁹

Τὸ μὲν οὖν πλεον ὠμολόγουν ἀλλήλαις αἱ πόλεις αὐται, περὶ δὲ Ληλάντου διενεχθεῖσαι ... οὐδ' οὕτω τελέως ἐπαύσαντο ... ὥστ' ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κατὰ αὐθάδειαν δρᾶν ἕκαστα, ἀλλὰ συνέθεντο ἐφ' οἷς συστήσονται τὸν ἀγῶνα. δημοῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ Ἀμαρυνθίῳ στήλη τις φράζουσα μὴ χρῆσθαι τηλεβόλοις.⁷⁰

As mentioned above, this is the same conflict that Thucydides calls the first land war. Thucydides also probably regarded the combat of three hundred picked Spartans and Argives to decide possession of Thyrea as an historical

and he totally forgets shameful flight, staking his life and his steadfast spirit, and he encourages and inspires the man beside him with his words. This man is good in war.”

⁶⁶ Van Wees (2000) 151.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 151, citing Tyrtaeus 11.35-38, 23a10-14, and 19.19-20.

⁶⁸ Van Wees (200) 154.

⁶⁹ Pritchett 2 (1974) 173, 251-252.

⁷⁰ Strabo 10.1.12: “Now in general these cities were in accord with one another, and when differences arose concerning the Lelantine Plain they did not so completely break off relations as to wage their wars in all respects according to the will of each, but they came to an agreement as to the conditions under which they were to conduct the fight. This fact, among others, is disclosed by a certain pillar in the Amarynthium, which forbids the use of long distance missiles” (tr. H. L. Jones 1924).

event.⁷¹ This type of warfare is characterized by prearranged battles on open plains governed by numerous other conventions.⁷²

War of the Archaic and Classical periods, before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, usually consisted not of campaigns but of single infantry battles.⁷³ The agrarian character of the *polis* led to “brutal battles of an hour or so defining war between reluctant farmers with harvest responsibilities at home.”⁷⁴ The dominant mode of fighting was the tightly massed formation called by modern scholars the “hoplite phalanx.”⁷⁵ In a typical hoplite battle, the two sides drew up their formations opposite one another on level ground.⁷⁶ The general often encouraged his troops in some way, and there was always a sacrifice.⁷⁷ Then both sides advanced, but often one side or part of one side broke and ran at the first collision or even before.⁷⁸ If neither side broke, the battle then entered the ‘shoving’ (ὠθισμός) stage, the exact nature of which is disputed.⁷⁹ Eventually, because of gaps in the line or the weight of the opponent’s shove, one side broke and ran (the τροπή).⁸⁰ Sometimes the rout started in a specific part of the line, but the panic usually spread to the whole army and resulted in a hasty and disordered retreat.⁸¹ In such a battle, morale is absolutely central to success.⁸² The side that loses by retreating, especially if no actual blow is struck, simply has more fragile morale. Once the retreat

⁷¹ Pritchett 2 (1974) 173, referring to T 5.41.

⁷² *Ibid.*; Hanson (2000) 207-208.

⁷³ Mitchell (1996) 87; Hanson (1991) 3-4.

⁷⁴ Hanson (2005) 19.

⁷⁵ Lendon (2005) 43-44.

⁷⁶ Mitchell (1996) 94; Lazenby (1991) 88; Lendon (2005) 41.

⁷⁷ Encouragement: Lazenby (1991) 89; sacrifice: Mitchell (1996) 94; Lendon (2005) 42.

⁷⁸ Lazenby (1991) 91-92.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 96-98; van Wees (2000) 131-132.

⁸⁰ Lazenby (1991) 100; Lendon (2005) 42.

⁸¹ Lazenby (1991) 100-101.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 104.

happened, pursuit was limited, and there was little killing of prisoners or civilians.⁸³

Lendon argues that hoplite battle became predominant because of the unique appeal it had to the Greek competitive ethos.⁸⁴ He believes that Greeks viewed the phalanx as more fair than other types of battle and so preferred it as a means to settle military disputes on even terms. Hanson links hoplite warfare with the agrarian social context of the ancient Greek polis. The Greeks associated societies based in mountainous areas, like Crete or Aetolia with ambushes and missile attacks, while cavalry controlled areas of open plains, like Thessaly.⁸⁵ The small valleys and enclaves tucked between mountains where the agrarian *polis* thrives are also the perfect setting for hoplite warfare.⁸⁶ This kind of warfare allowed border conflicts to be frequent but not catastrophic to Greek society as a whole, since it greatly limited the human and economic destructiveness of war; it is also linked to the political dominance of the land-owning classes, who alone could afford the panoply and held full voting rights.⁸⁷

A number of scholars have theorized about when the model outlined above best characterized Greek warfare.⁸⁸ Some dissenters, however, have argued that the hoplite model is not the reality of Greek war, but rather reflects romanticized ideas about the past.⁸⁹ Van Wees concludes, based on literary and artistic evidence, that the phalanx had not taken its classical form by 600

⁸³ Hanson (2000) 219.

⁸⁴ Lendon (2005) 52-57.

⁸⁵ Hanson (2000) 209.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 208.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 219.

⁸⁸ See Hanson (2000), Lendon (2005), and van Wees (2000) cited below.

⁸⁹ See especially Krentz (2000) and Rawlings (2000).

BCE, and may not even have emerged until after the Persian Wars.⁹⁰ Lendon claims that the phalanx had fully developed by the fifth century, with the change completed by the Peloponnesian War.⁹¹ And yet Hanson argues that the Persian Wars sowed the seeds that ended the age of hoplite warfare, since the cities that rose to prominence in their aftermath, Athens and Sparta, were well equipped to fight wars that consisted of more than single clashes of citizen-soldiers.⁹² He believes that the conventions of hoplite battle continue to appear in our historical sources for two reasons: first, because pitched battle is an excellent way to ruin an enemy army, whether or not the sides have agreed beforehand to honor the outcome; second, because the protocols of hoplite battle mostly did survive, such as pre-battle speeches, sacrifice before battle, limited pursuit, exchange of the dead, and the erection of trophies.⁹³

Krentz rejects the developmental model of martial ethics, arguing that the heroic code from Homer through the Classical Period values deception and surprise as well as open and 'honest' fighting.⁹⁴ He alludes to the Spartan custom of sacrificing a bull for a victory by stratagem or a cock for victory in open battle and compiles a list of mythical and historical Spartan deceivers.⁹⁵ Krentz also offers a list of mythical and historical Athenian tricksters, starting with Theseus, *contra* Pericles' claim in the funeral oration that unlike the Lacedaemonians, the Athenians do not trust in deception.⁹⁶ In fact,

⁹⁰ Van Wees (2000) 155-156.

⁹¹ Lendon (2005) 43-44.

⁹² Hanson (2000) 211-212.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 222.

⁹⁴ Krentz (2000) 172.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 175, for the sacrificial custom see Plutarch *Mor.* 238f.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 176, citing T 2.39.1.

cleverness and desperation resulted in boldness and deception in all periods; when a commander is not confident of defeating an enemy in open battle, ambush becomes more appealing.⁹⁷ Indeed, Lendon admits that much of our evidence for the elements of ritualized hoplite battle comes from descriptions of later battles that do not fit the paradigm, concluding that “[i]n reality Greek hoplite warfare existed in perennial tension between battle conducted according to understood rules and the crafty subversion of those rules.”⁹⁸

War in the Classical period often little resembled the conventional hoplite battle, whether or not it existed in an earlier period, but hoplite protocols did govern some aspects of warfare.⁹⁹ Despite the Peloponnesian War differing greatly from these supposed earlier hoplite border conflicts, the protocols outlined by Hanson still exerted great influence on the Greeks of Thucydides’ day.¹⁰⁰ And yet Lendon cites examples from Homer all the way through Herodotus and Thucydides of generals who were praised for winning through stratagem or trickery.¹⁰¹ He argues that Thucydides’ ambivalent attitude toward trickery reveals that the value of victory by stratagem was hotly debated, since it could bring honor to the victorious general but did not allow the soldiers to prove their own courage in a symmetrical hoplite contest.¹⁰² Furthermore, most Greeks of the 5th century, including possibly Thucydides himself, would have believed in the historicity of the prohibition of missiles in

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 177.

⁹⁸ Lendon (2005) 83.

⁹⁹ Hanson (2000) 222. See also Lendon (2005) 81-82, which argues against the developmental model.

¹⁰⁰ For instance, Pritchett 2 194-195 collects a long list of battle arrays described by Thucydides.

¹⁰¹ Lendon (2005) 85-90, statements in favor of trickery are made by an Elean general at 3.30.4 and Brasidas 5.9.4-5; see also Losada (1972) 129-130, 141.

¹⁰² Lendon (2005) 86-87.

the Lelantine War.¹⁰³ Even if modern scholars reject the idea of development in military ethics, the hoplite phalanx would have represented an older and fairer type of fighting to Thucydides and others in the 4th and 5th centuries.

The Peloponnesian War consisted of more than hoplite battles. The citizen who possessed the panoply was trained to be effective in martial activities outside the phalanx, and raiding, marine service, and other kinds of operation were all a part of war.¹⁰⁴ Hanson, in his book about the experience of fighting the Peloponnesian War, has chapters on irregular fighting, hoplite warfare, sieges, and trireme warfare, among other things.¹⁰⁵ In the Peloponnesian War, the conventions that governed the limited warfare of hoplite battle were ignored, and the total war of sieges, naval assaults, night raids, ambushes, and massacres became the norm.¹⁰⁶ And yet those conventions still have a powerful influence of the values implicit in the speeches in Thucydides' account and in his own judgments of individuals and battles. Ultimately, an investigation of these implicit characterizations will reveal much about the nature of morale in the Peloponnesian War.

1.4 Subsequent Chapters

As mentioned above, the chapters will be organized around certain recurring themes related to morale in the Peloponnesian War. This thematic organization will enable me to identify which psychological factors Thucydides finds most important and to show how these various factors function differently according to the situation. Furthermore, my investigation of the relationships

¹⁰³ Strabo 10.1.12, Pritchett 2 173.

¹⁰⁴ Rawlings (2000) 249-250.

¹⁰⁵ Hanson (2005) xvi.

¹⁰⁶ Mitchell (1996) 92; Hanson (1991) 5.

between these psychological concepts will determine to what extent Thucydides has a schematic view of morale in battle. As Lord explains, the differing morales of groups, in his case European nation-states rather than Greek city-states, affects how they react not only to war but also to other sorts of social or political upheaval; furthermore, there are direct links between national morale and the morale of an army.¹⁰⁷

This project carefully distinguishes the narrative and Thucydides' statements in his own voice from claims made in direct and indirect speeches, in order to illuminate one aspect of Thucydides' historiographical approach to battle, namely the role of morale and how it is conceptualized. That is not to say that the speeches cannot represent Thucydides' own view, since they often do, but the reader must always remain aware of the form that the discourse takes. A full understanding can come only from looking at the narrative and speeches together, noting especially who is deploying the words with which this study is concerned and how the narrative implicitly comments on the speeches.¹⁰⁸ What emerges are certain paradigms, through which Thucydides connects specific events to more general themes. Paradigms in the work of Thucydides are not eternal and unchanging patterns; in fact, Thucydides emphasizes the differences between events as well as the similarities.¹⁰⁹ As one reads the *History*, the presentations of courage and the factors that affect morale expand, change, and are refined. Morale describes

¹⁰⁷ Lord (1918) 146-153; Lord argues that in times of great upheaval, such as the French Revolution or the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, lack of trained skill on the part of those ruling leads to the same kind of panic terror felt by an untrained army. He also contrasts the superior national and army morale of France and England with that of Germany during World War I.

¹⁰⁸ Hornblower (1987) 66-69; on Thucydides' "implicit" method see also Rawlings (1981) 3-4, and Connor (1984) 11-17.

¹⁰⁹ Rawlings (1981) 262-263.

not only the mental state of soldiers on the battlefield but also the psychological response of cities or nations to the continuing stresses of war. Although Greek has no single word equivalent to English morale, the modern idea offers a productive framework for investigating Thucydides' account of social psychology in the Peloponnesian War. The following four chapters are structured as word studies, beginning with a survey of the word group's history in 5th century and earlier literature before a detailed consideration of the main ways that Thucydides uses and conceptualizes the word.

The second chapter investigates how ἀνδρεία, courage or manliness, is related to the morale of the participants in the Peloponnesian War. I show how Thucydides himself deploys the word ἀνδρεία and how Athens and Sparta conceptualize it differently. As one of the most positive 5th century terms relating to the mental aspects of war, its use reveals what qualities leaders and cities value in warfare. The word ἀνδρεία originated in the 5th century, and while Herodotus and the tragedians sometimes used it paradoxically of women, Thucydides only applies it to men from Greek city states. Thucydides' attribution of ἀνδρεία to the Spartans at Mantinea,¹¹⁰ their greatest hoplite victory of the war, shows how he values different types of combat, specifically that he is part of the widespread phenomenon of Greek "hoplite chauvinism," which holds that hoplite battle is the best way to settle military disputes.¹¹¹ Lendon argues that hoplite combat held such appeal to the Greeks because the clash of hoplite phalanxes was the ultimate symmetrical test of both individuals' and cities' passive courage, a mental

¹¹⁰ T 5.72.2.

¹¹¹ Hanson (2000) 219-222. See also Pritchett 2 173-174, 251-252.

quality that men exhibit by standing their ground as a unit.¹¹² In fact, many have privileged hand-to-hand combat as the most courageous way to fight throughout history, from Homer to the modern day.¹¹³

Yet ἀνδρεία is not one of the main virtues the Athenians claim for themselves. Thucydidean speakers sometimes speak of ἀνδρεία as a natural quality rather than something that can be learned, and so the Athenians place more emphasis on other qualities. Thus, one goal of this chapter is determining the relationship between ἀνδρεία and ἐπιστήμη. Furthermore, the values reflected in the terms each city uses for valor also manifest themselves in the tactics and strategy that both sides use. The naval power of Athens required specially trained seamen with great technical skill, but the land army of Sparta required physical strength and experience in hand-to-hand combat. Comparison of Spartan and Athenian conceptions of manliness to Moran's ideas about natural and democratic courage shows the timelessness of the struggle between these two different formulations of bravery.¹¹⁴ The Spartans' reputation as brave liberators is probably their most important asset in the war. It causes most of Greece to favor them at the war's outset, Brasidas cements it among the subject allies of Athens, and the battle of Mantinea wipes away the damage done to it after Pylos. Sparta proves to be deficient in τόλμα throughout the extant Histories, but their reputation for ἀνδρεία, except perhaps in the period between Pylos and Mantinea, obtains goodwill for them from most of Greece.

¹¹² Lendon (2005) 63.

¹¹³ Hanson (2004) 93.

¹¹⁴ Moran (1987) 3-9.

The third chapter will continue the investigation of values and morale begun in chapter two, by examining τόλμα, the quality that Thucydides pairs with ἀνδρεία in 3.82. The possession or lack of τόλμα is one of the major differences between the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians. This chapter looks at τόλμα as a value that is more or less central to a city's ideas about how war should be fought. Thus, I explore how Thucydides develops τόλμα as a psychological concept and how it affects both its possessors' and their opponents' performance in the war in the short and long term. Although valuing and promoting τόλμα helps the Athenians win many battles, it also makes them prone to civil strife. Authors as early as Homer used τόλμα to mean both daring and excessive boldness, but Thucydides explores the relationship between positive and negative τόλμα in unprecedented detail. In Thucydides' account, τόλμα brings many immediate benefits to Athens, but an excess of τόλμα leads the Athenians to turn against one another and lose the war. Thus, the Spartan policy of shunning daring action contributes to their eventual victory, even as it causes them to lose opportunities to end the war sooner. The connection between τόλμα and *stasis* is so strong that cities where τόλμα is valued highly very easily fall prey to civil war. The Syracusans' possession of τόλμα makes them more successful adversaries for the Athenians than the Lacedaemonians, but it is not an unambiguously positive quality.

The fourth chapter investigates προθυμία, spirit or enthusiasm, which the Athenians initially claim as their own based on their actions in the Persian Wars but both sides possess in great measure at different times. Προθυμία figures prominently in both Thucydides' analysis of different cities' morale and a number of speakers' arguments in front of current and potential allies, since

it can mean enthusiasm for war or for alliance. In fact, the text of the treaty between the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians that ended the Archidamian War includes a clause promising that the terms of the treaty will be followed enthusiastically.¹¹⁵ In addition, both the Athenians and the Syracusans are concerned with their own and their allies' *προθυμία* during the conflict in Sicily. And yet the passage that most indicates the importance of *προθυμία* is Diodotus' claim that neither force of law nor anything else terrible can deter a man, once he has embarked on a course of action with enthusiasm.¹¹⁶ Indeed, this sort of enthusiasm motivates a number of the major participants in the *stasis* at Athens after the disaster in Sicily.

The fifth chapter looks at Thucydides' use of the term *ῥώμη*, strength or force. The term *ῥώμη* is sometimes a near synonym for *προθυμία*, but *ῥώμη* is more decisive in the sense that Thucydides links the possession of *ῥώμη* to victory while *προθυμία* can be characteristic of those losing a battle. It also comes closer in meaning to English 'high morale' than any other term appearing in Thucydides. Thucydides innovatively uses *ῥώμη*, which originally referred to bodily power, to describe the psychological strength and military force of the various states and leaders involved in the Peloponnesian War. Unlike earlier authors, who refer to *ῥώμη* as a physical in contrast to mental quality, Thucydidean *ῥώμη* often depends on reason as well as material power. Although Euripides innovatively uses *ῥώμη* to refer to the impersonal force of wind and battle, Thucydides considers *ῥώμη* a purely human characteristic. In Thucydides' Histories, one side or the other typically has the edge in *ῥώμη*, so tracking this concept reveals Thucydides' analysis

¹¹⁵ T 5.23.1, 5.23.2.

¹¹⁶ T 3.45.7.

of the psychological and material advantages enjoyed by different cities. Thucydides emphasizes the possession or lack of *ρόμη* at pivotal moments in the war, such as the episode at Pylos, Athens' decision to negotiate the Peace of Nicias, the departure and failure of the Sicilian Expedition, and Athens' recovery in book eight. In addition, the way Thucydides deploys the terminology in direct and indirect speech adds to his characterization of political and military leaders. The importance of *ρόμη* to Thucydides' psychology of war is most clear in his account of the Sicilian Expedition, where the author carefully uses the term in narrative and speeches to explore how and why so great an Athenian force was so utterly destroyed.

CHAPTER 2

MORALE AND VALUES: *ANDREIA*

2.1 Introduction

The word ἀνδρεία, unlike some of the other terms in the present study, has been the subject of sustained inquiry.¹¹⁷ Its basic definition is “manliness, manly spirit,” since it is the abstract noun formed from the root of ἀνήρ.¹¹⁸ It can also be rendered “courage,” which better captures most uses of the word.¹¹⁹ The term is post-Homeric and first appears in Aeschylus’ *Seven Against Thebes*.¹²⁰ For the most part, “war is the prototypical scene for manifestations of courage and manliness” in Ancient Greek sources,¹²¹ and Thucydides is no exception. Bassi concludes, however, based on the evidence of the tragedians and Thucydides, that the concept of ἀνδρεία develops in the fifth century “as a political virtue attached to *poleis* as collective entities.”¹²² She later adds that “*andreia* is *polis* specific and part of a competitive discourse between rival cities and political systems,” and argues that Thucydides’ text, especially his discussion of *stasis* at 3.82, illustrates the profound effects of differing evaluations of ἀνδρεία.¹²³ What acts a man deems courageous sheds considerable light on his value system, since labeling “someone or something ‘courageous’ is to commend that person or

¹¹⁷ In addition to Huart (1968), Rosen and Sluiter (2003) is a publication of a conference entirely on ἀνδρεία in antiquity, and Balot (2001) deals with Athenian democratic courage.

¹¹⁸ LSJ, s. v. ἀνδρεία.

¹¹⁹ Chantraine (1999) 88.

¹²⁰ Bassi (2003) 32-33.

¹²¹ Sluiter and Rosen (2003) 8.

¹²² Bassi (2003) 47.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

action, and thus has a performative force that far outstrips the merely descriptive.”¹²⁴ Although Bassi proves that Thucydides represents a discourse of ἀνδρεία, she does not attempt to identify the definition that Thucydides himself favors. This chapter, therefore, carefully distinguishes uses of ἀνδρεία in Thucydides’ own voice from occurrences in direct or indirect speech, in order to determine how Thucydides himself views ἀνδρεία. The values that different speakers assign ἀνδρεία also reveal Thucydides’ implicit analysis of their morale, since one’s conception of courage informs when and how long one will fight.

In the text of Thucydides, forms of the abstract noun ἀνδρεία occur seven times, and forms of the adjective ἀνδρεῖος occur nine times.¹²⁵ Thucydides in his own voice, as distinguished from direct speeches and paraphrase of historical persons, does not use the adjective but uses the noun four times. Unlike other authors, who sometimes use the adjective to mean “human” or “masculine,” ἀνδρεῖος always relates to courage in Thucydides’ text. Thus, I typically translate ἀνδρεία as ‘courage’ and ἀνδρεῖος as ‘courageous,’ although in some contexts ‘manliness’ and ‘manly’ are preferable. Thucydides also uses the abstract noun εὐψυχία or the adjective εὐψυχος as a near synonym of ἀνδρεία, so I translate εὐψυχία as ‘bravery’ to preserve a formal distinction. Unlike ἀνδρεία, Thucydides only uses εὐψυχία in direct and indirect speeches, never in the narrative.¹²⁶ Although I

¹²⁴ Sluiter and Rosen (2003) 2.

¹²⁵ ἀνδρεία: T 2.39.4, 2.87.4, 3.82.4, 5.72.2, 6.69.1, 6.72.2, 6.72.4; ἀνδρεῖος: 2.39.1, 2.87.3 (twice), 2.89.2, 4.126.5, 4.126.6; ἀνδρείως: 2.64.2, 4.120.3, 5.9.9.

¹²⁶ εὐψυχία and εὐψυχος, often in the neuter singular as an abstract, occur a total of eleven times: 1.84.3 (Archidamus), 1.121.4 (Corinthians), 2.11.5 (Archidamus), 2.43.4 (Pericles), 2.39.1 (Pericles), 2.87.4 (Cnemus, Brasidas, et al.), 2.89.3 (Phormio), 4.126.6 (Brasidas), 5.9.1 (Brasidas), 6.72.4 (Hermocrates), 7.64.2 (Nicias).

will discuss some occurrences of εὐψυχία, I seek to avoid conflating Thucydides' use of ἀνδρεία and εὐψυχία simply because the English word 'courage' can translate both.

A number of scholars have explored the relationship between εὐψυχία and knowledge or reason, but the relationship between ἀνδρεία and ἐπιστήμη is less well established. Huart argues that εὐψυχία is a kind of courage combined with experience that is equivalent to ἀνδρεία combined with ἐπιστήμη.¹²⁷ In her study of courage from Homer to Aristotle, Smoes identifies Thucydides with a form of rational courage that developed out of Athenian intellectualism and also found expression in the *Laches* and *Protagoras* of Plato, but she does not relate this kind of courage to ἀνδρεία.¹²⁸ Similarly, Balot's argument that democratic courage in the speeches of Pericles is a composite virtue requiring knowledge and a properly habituated character focuses on εὐψυχία and the phrase κράτιστοι τὴν ψυχὴν.¹²⁹ Thus, ἀνδρεία in Thucydides still merits some exclusive attention, since the Anglo-French concept of courage has led scholars to discuss ἀνδρεία and εὐψυχία indiscriminately. The exact relationship between knowledge or experience and ἀνδρεία still needs to be determined, and Thucydides' own view should be distinguished from claims reportedly made by

¹²⁷ Huart (1968) 404-439.

¹²⁸ Smoes (1995) 88-97; she mentions Huart arguing that εὐψυχία is ἀνδρεία plus ἐπιστήμη, but she never discusses any instances of ἀνδρεία in Thucydides' text.

¹²⁹ Balot (2001) 505-525, who extensively discusses εὐψυχία but only mentions two instances of ἀνδρεία, at 2.39.4 and 2.87.4. Although he does not discuss Huart's argument, Balot refers to Pericles' use of ἀνδρεία at T 2.39.4 as natural courage (512-513). Based on 2.87.4, Balot also argues that Brasidas sees courage as "that feature of character that allows people to maintain their technical knowledge in circumstances where they are apt to forget it through fear of losing their lives" (518). Balot (2004) 407-408 defends his practice of identifying κράτιστοι τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀνδρεία, and other Greek words and phrases as "courage" but does not explicitly discuss ἀνδρεία in Thucydides.

the speakers. This chapter will discuss a few instances of εὐψυχία, but the main focus will be on ἀνδρεία and its derivatives, in order to minimize the risk of creating connections based on modern lexical values that Thucydides did not intend.

This chapter first shows how Thucydides' predecessors and contemporaries used ἀνδρεία and derivatives, in order to understand the range of meaning of ἀνδρεία and the various contexts in which it typically appears. Then, I investigate the ways in which Thucydides himself uses ἀνδρεία before progressing to a discussion of ἀνδρεία in the speeches. Although Thucydides alerts the reader that different groups have their own definitions of ἀνδρεία in his description of *stasis* (3.82), he otherwise advances a fairly limited view of ἀνδρεία as the virtue that enables members of a Greek *polis* to defend it on the battlefield. Rhetorical ἀνδρεία appears most frequently in the speeches of Pericles and Brasidas. Both leaders caricature and attack their opponents' ἀνδρεία in order to confirm the ἀνδρεία of their listeners. At the same time, the uses of ἀνδρεία in the speeches also enable Thucydides to explore the relationship between ἀνδρεία and other qualities like τόλμα and ἐμπειρία.

2.2 ἀνδρεία in Other Authors

Because Thucydides uses somewhat ἀνδρεία differently from his predecessors and contemporaries, an investigation of the term's relatively short history before Thucydides is instructive. Bassi prefaces her discussion of 3.82 with some examples of ἀνδρεία from the Attic dramatists and Herodotus, but her examples are not exhaustive; she concentrates on proving the existence of a discourse of ἀνδρεία rather than revealing the full extent of

this discourse. Thus, the current chapter deals at length with the ways in which Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and Herodotus use ἀνδρεία. The word ἀνδρεία is post-Homeric, occurring for the first time in Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*, when the Argive warriors are described as having θυμὸς burning with ἀνδρεία: σιδηρόφρων γὰρ θυμὸς ἀνδρείαι φλέγων / ἔπνει λεόντων ὥς Ἄρη δεδορκότων.¹³⁰ Here, ἀνδρεία is one of many attributes of the fearsome Argive warriors, and Aeschylus uses the word to reinforce the martial prowess of the men he describes. Except for the new word ἀνδρεία, the lines otherwise have a Homeric flavor, especially “the metaphorical use of πνέω and the lion simile.”¹³¹

One of two appearances of ἀνδρεία in the extant plays of Sophocles describes Electra,¹³² who tries to convince her sister to join in plotting revenge by imagining aloud how the townspeople would praise the sisters for killing their mother and her lover:

ἴδεσθε τῷδε τῷ κασιγνήτῳ, φίλοι,
ὦ τὸν πατρῷον οἶκον ἐξεσωσάτην,
ὦ τοῖσιν ἐχθροῖς εὖ βεβηκόσιν ποτὲ
ψυχῆς ἀφειδήσαντε προυστήτην φόνου.
τούτῳ φιλεῖν χρή, τῷδε χρή πάντας σέβειν·
τῷδ' ἐν θ' ἐορταῖς ἐν τε πανδήμῳ πόλει
τιμᾶν ἅπαντας οὐνεκ' ἀνδρείας χρεῶν.¹³³

Despite the strategy of distancing that Electra employs by putting her self-praise in the mouth of an imaginary other, Electra is envisioning public

¹³⁰ Aeschylus *Seven Against Thebes* 52-53: “Their iron-hearted spirit burning with courage breathed war, like lions with flashing eyes.”

¹³¹ Bassi (2003) 38.

¹³² In addition, there is an adjectival form meaning ‘human,’ which describes the hybrid body of the river Achelous at *Trachiniae* 12.

¹³³ Sophocles *Electra* 977-983: “Look at these two sisters, friends, who saved their paternal house, who risking their lives presided over slaughter for their once prospering enemies. We should love them, we should all revere them, we should all honor them in festivals and with the whole city because of their courage.”

recognition or *kleos* modeled on Achilles' glory for avenging Patroclus' death.¹³⁴ And yet, ἀνδρεία is used by and of a woman, despite the etymological paradox of feminine manliness. Therefore, Sophocles is here calling attention to "the emergence of a manliness that is no longer *anêr* specific."¹³⁵

The only other appearance of ἀνδρεία in Sophocles has a more traditionally martial connotation. In a fragment of the satyr play *Trackers*, Silenus remonstrates with the chorus:

εἰ δέ που δέη,
 πιπτοὶ λόγοισιν ὄντες ἔργα φεύγετε,
 τοιοῦ[δ]ε πατρός, ὦ κάκιστα θηρίων,
 οὐ πόλλ' ἐφ' ἥβης μνήματ' ἀνδρείας ὑπο
 κ[ε]ῖται παρ' οἴκοις νυμφικοῖς ἡσκημένα,
 οὐκ εἰς φυγὴν κλίνοντος, οὐ δειλ[ο]υμένου,
 οὐδὲ ψόφοισι τῶν ὀρειτρόφων βοτῶν
 [π]τήσσοντος, ἀλλ' α[ί]χμαῖσιν ἐξει[ρ]γασμένου
 [ἀ] νῦν ὑφ' ὑμῶν λάμ[πρ] ἀπ[ο]ρρυπαίνεται
 [ψ]όφῳ νεώρει κόλακ[ι] ποιμένων π[ο]θέν.¹³⁶

Although Silenus further defines ἀνδρεία as not fleeing or showing cowardice, the passage is not free from comic undertones, since the courageous person Silenus praises is himself. Thus, Sophocles uses ἀνδρεία with what appears to be a traditional and epic-style connotation of 'courage,' but both occurrences are somewhat ambivalent. The poor preservation of Sophocles' work prevents any firm conclusions, since numerous counter examples may

¹³⁴ Bassi (2003) 41.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* 42.

¹³⁶ Sophocles *Frag.* 314 (Radt) 151-160: "And if somehow it should be necessary, be trusty in words and avoid actions, worst of beasts, even though your father was such a man. There are many tricked out memorials at the shrine of the nymphs for him because of his courage in the time of his youth, when he did not turn to flight, did not show cowardice, did not even cower at the sounds of the mountain bred beasts, but accomplished with the spear brilliant deeds which are now tarnished by you shepherds from somewhere or other with your recent flattery."

once have existed, but Sophocles may have viewed ἀνδρεία as a mock-serious word.¹³⁷

The plays of Euripides contain many more references to ἀνδρεία, but they present a concept whose definition changes according to the context. Like Thucydides, Euripides seems to have some interest in the relationship between courage and knowledge. Yet the nature of his medium allows him to advance many different views, some of them contradictory. Often, ἀνδρεία appears as one attribute in a number of positive qualities. One fragment reads γνῶμης σόφισμα καὶ χέρ' ἀνδρείαν ἔχων / δύσμορφος εἶην μᾶλλον ἢ καλὸς κακός.¹³⁸ In this statement, the adjectival form describes a body part, so ἀνδρεία describes the physical aspect of goodness. Similarly, a messenger in the *Orestes* describes an unnamed citizen who couples courage and other positive qualities with ugliness:

ἄλλος δ' ἀναστὰς ἔλεγε τῷδ' ἐναντία,
μορφῇι μὲν οὐκ εὐωπός, ἀνδρείος δ' ἀνήρ,
ὀλιγάκις ἄστὺ κάγορᾶς χραίνων κύκλον,
αὐτουργός, οἵπερ καὶ μόνοι σώιζουσι γῆν,
ξυνετὸς δέ, χωρεῖν ὁμόσε τοῖς λόγοις θέλων,
ἀκέραιον ἀνεπίπληκτον ἡσκηκῶς βίον.¹³⁹

This portrait of the courageous yeoman farmer, on whom the well being of the city depends, reflects many of the aspects of the hoplite ideal.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, unlike the description in *Iphigenia at Aulis*, discussed below, this man unifies

¹³⁷ Compare the words' usage in Aristophanes, discussed below.

¹³⁸ Euripides *Frag.* 842 (Nauck) 1-2: "I would rather be ugly with wisdom of the mind and a courageous hand than beautiful and bad."

¹³⁹ Euripides *Orestes* 917-922: "Another man stood up and spoke against that man. He was not good looking in form, but we was a courageous man, rarely in contact with town and the circuit of the marketplace; he was a farmer, those who alone protect the land. He was clever and willing to come together in arguments, and he had lived a life without stain and irreproachable."

¹⁴⁰ Hanson (2000) 208-209. He also seems somewhat similar to Alcibiades' portrait of the ugly yet noble Socrates in Plato's *Symposium* (215a-222b), especially in his readiness to debate while avoiding politics.

intelligence and courage. In *Trojan Women*, Andromache laments the husband she lost: σὲ δ', ὦ φίλ' Ἑκτορ, εἶχον ἄνδρ' ἀρκούντά μοι / ξυνέσει γένει πλούτῳ τε κἀνδρεία μέγαν.¹⁴¹ Here again ἀνδρεία occurs as a term of praise alongside mental ability, this time joined by wealth and good breeding. In another fragment, the speaker uses ἀνδρεία to redefine εὐγένεια as something relating to character rather than birth: ἐγὼ μὲν <οὖν> οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτῳ σκοπεῖν χρεὼν / τὴν εὐγένειαν· τοὺς γὰρ ἀνδρείους φύσιν / καὶ τοὺς δίκαιους τῶν κενῶν δοξασμάτων, / κἀν ὧσι δούλων, εὐγενεστέρους λέγω.¹⁴² In this passage, φύσις could refer to strictly physical but more likely refers to character.¹⁴³ Thus, the pairing with δίκαιος probably combines goodness in war with goodness in peace.

In the *Andromache*, Euripides explicitly relates ἀνδρεία to war. Hector advances a rather sophistic argument that the Trojan War was ultimately beneficial to the Greeks:

Ἑλένη δ' ἐμόχθησ' οὐχ ἑκοῦσ' ἀλλ' ἐκ θεῶν,
καὶ τοῦτο πλεῖστον ὠφέλησεν Ἑλλάδα·
ὅπλων γὰρ ὄντες καὶ μάχης ἀίστορες
ἔβησαν ἐς τάνδρειον· ἢ δ' ὁμιλία
πάντων βροτοῖσι γίγνεται διδάσκαλος.¹⁴⁴

Here ἀνδρεία is comes from experience with war, so Menelaus implies that it can be gained or learned. In the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, the character Menelaus advances a different point of view: μηδέν' ἀνδρείας ἔκατι προστάτην

¹⁴¹ Euripides *Trojan Women* 673-674: "Dear Hector, I had in you a husband sufficient for me, great in intelligence, lineage, wealth, and courage."

¹⁴² Euripides *Frag.* 495 (Nauck) 40-43: "I do not know in what way it is necessary to look at nobility. I say the courageous in constitution and the just, even if they are offspring of slaves, are more noble than empty opinions."

¹⁴³ LSJ, s.v. φύσις.

¹⁴⁴ Euripides *Andromache* 680-684: "Helen did not fool around willingly but because of the gods, and it benefitted Hellas very much. Men ignorant of weapons and battle advanced in courage. Association is the teacher of all things to mortals."

θείμην χθονὸς / μηδ' ὅπλων ἄρχοντα· νοῦν χρή τὸν στρατηλάτην ἔχειν / πόλεος· ὡς ἀρκῶν ἀνὴρ πᾶς, ξύνεσιν ἦν ἔχων τύχηι.¹⁴⁵ Thus, courage is less useful than intelligence, and by implication one can exist without the other. In this passage, ἀνδρεία seems not even to be a particularly positive quality.

In the *Suppliant Women*, the Theban herald advances an incompatible definition of *andreia*, as a synonym of being clear-sighted or sensible.

φιλεῖν μὲν οὔν χρή τοὺς σοφοὺς πρῶτον τέκνα,
ἔπειτα τοκέας πατρίδα θ', ἣν αὔξειν χρεῶν
καὶ μὴ κατὰξαι. σφαλερὸν ἡγεμῶν θρασὺς
νεῶς τε ναύτης· ἥσυχος καιρῶι, σοφός.
καὶ τοὔτό τοι τάνδρεϊον, ἢ προμηθία.¹⁴⁶

Yet the context, with the servant of a foreign ruler attempting to project his will in Athens, shows that the idea of courage as forethought is mere rhetoric. The messenger is essentially calling it courageous to avoid war. Later in the play, Adrastus describes the warrior Hippomedon:

ὁ δ' αὖ τρίτος τῶνδ' Ἴππομέδων τοιόσδ' ἔφυ·
παῖς ὦν ἐτόλμησ' εὐθύς οὐ πρὸς ἡδονὰς
Μουσῶν τραπέσθαι πρὸς τὸ μαλθακὸν βίου,
ἀγροὺς δὲ ναίων σκληρὰ τῇ φύσει διδοὺς
ἔχαιρε πρὸς τάνδρεϊον, ἔς τ' ἄγρας ἰὼν
ἵπποις τε χαίρων τόξα τ' ἐντείνων χεροῖν,
πόλει παρασχεῖν σῶμα χρήσιμον θέλων.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Euripides *Iphigenia at Aulis* 373-375: "May I never appoint an overseer of the land or a leader of armies for courage; a leader of the army should have a brain, since every man is sufficient, if he happens to have sense."

¹⁴⁶ Euripides *Suppliant Women* 506-510: "The wise should love their children first, then their parents and fatherland, which they should augment rather than destroy. A bold leader or sailor of a ship are a hindrance; the wise man is quiet at the right time. And this too is courage, forethought."

¹⁴⁷ Euripides *Suppliant Women* 881-887: "And the third of these men, Hippomedon, was such a man: while a boy he did not dare to turn to the pleasures of the Muses and the soft life; haunting the fields and giving his hardships to his constitution, he took pleasure in manliness. And going into the fields and delighting in horses and bending the bow with his hands, he wanted to make his body useful for the city."

This description contrasts a life of courage and usefulness to the city with the soft life of a poet. Much like the messenger in the *Orestes*, Adrastus here praises a traditional lifestyle characterized by physical hardship, though not that of a laborer since horses are mentioned.

Despite these instances of ἀνδρεία signifying a seemingly conservative manliness, Bassi argues that the appearances of ἀνδρεία in the *Electra* signify a divide between epic heroes and the characters of tragedy.¹⁴⁸ The messenger recounts that Orestes and Pylades show ἀνδρεία by threatening an army of household slaves after dispatching Aegisthus.¹⁴⁹ Since the slaves give up once Orestes identifies himself, this is not truly an act of heroic courage.¹⁵⁰ Later, Electra taunts the corpse of Aegisthus and compares it to the ἀνδρεία of her imagined husband.¹⁵¹ She also compares her and Orestes' actions with deeds of war. Thus, the messenger and Electra appropriate the vocabulary of courage to liken revenge murders to heroic acts. In a play with no true heroes and no "heroism traditionally defined, andreia signifies once again the irrevocable absence of a 'true' or unambiguous manliness."¹⁵²

The vocabulary of manliness is even more common in Aristophanes than Euripides, with twenty four occurrences in the extant plays. The word ἀνδρεία is not necessarily comic, but Aristophanes often uses it for parody and with connotations of emasculation.¹⁵³ In fact, Aristophanic characters delight in calling attention to the ἀνδρεία of both women and cowardly or

¹⁴⁸ Bassi (2003) 42-44.

¹⁴⁹ Euripides *Electra* 844-847.

¹⁵⁰ Bassi (2003) 44-45.

¹⁵¹ Euripides *Electra* 948-949.

¹⁵² Bassi (2003) 45.

¹⁵³ Bassi (2003) 44.

effeminate men. In addition, Aristophanes uses ἀνδρεία and its cognates to help define his utopian comic fantasy, like a suggested repurposing of the speaker's platform as a place for children to recite poetry about courageous men.¹⁵⁴ This section will focus on the four plays where ἀνδρεία and derivatives appear most commonly, since the other usages conform to the same basic patterns.¹⁵⁵ Three of the four plays in which ἀνδρεία or derivatives appear three or more times are about women, and some of the instances of courageous or manly women function both as puns and as signifiers of the inverted values of the comic fantasy.

Two of the three occurrences of the adjective ἀνδρεῖος in the *Lysistrata* are superlatives describing the title character, and the contrast between them and the single use describing men is telling. The chorus of women addresses Lysistrata as both ὦ τηθῶν ἀνδρειοτάτη καὶ μητριδίων ἀκαληφῶν and ὦ πασῶν ἀνδρειοτάτη.¹⁵⁶ On the other hand, the magistrate names men who arm themselves for a trip only to the agora ἀνδρείους, while Lysistrata calls them derisible (γέλοιοι).¹⁵⁷ Making a woman the true embodiment of ἀνδρεία in this play both puns on its etymological sense and suggests, like Sophocles' *Electra*, that courage is not ἀνὴρ specific. Bassi argues that, in the context of the failure of the Sicilian expedition and the intrigue surrounding the recall of Alcibiades, *Lysistrata* presents a comic

¹⁵⁴ Aristophanes *Ecclesiazusae* 679.

¹⁵⁵ In addition to the instances discussed at length, *andreia* and derivatives appear at Aristophanes *Birds* 91 (ἀνδρεῖος) and 1349 (ἀνδρεῖόν), *Clouds* 511 (ἀνδρείας) and 1052 (ἀνδρειότερος) *Knights* 268 (ἀνδρείας), *Peace* 498 (ἀνδρεῖως) and 732 (ἀνδρεῖως), and *Wasps* 1200 (ἀνδρειότατόν).

¹⁵⁶ Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 549: "O most courageous of grandmothers and maternal stinging-nettles," 1108: "O most courageous of all women."

¹⁵⁷ Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 559.

fantasy of peace with victory for both sides, “but only when *andreia* in its superlative form can be predicated of a woman.”¹⁵⁸

Like *Lysistrata*, *Thesmophoriazusae* both jokes about unmanly ἀνδρεία and uses it to differentiate the comic utopia from reality. It first appears when Agathon argues that he has no trouble writing about manly things (Ἀνδρεῖα), since he has that element in his body, but he must acquire through *mimesis* what he doesn’t possess.¹⁵⁹ This is both a joke, since the notoriously effeminate Agathon claims to be manly while cross dressing, and a serious point about poetic technique. Later, in a more straightforward pun, the chorus leader talks about the female chorus ‘manfully’ (κἀνδρείως) taking off their *himatia* to search for the interloping man.¹⁶⁰ Finally, as part of the new order, the chorus leader proposes that the mothers of cowardly men sit behind mothers of children with ἀνδρεία.¹⁶¹ Thus, the honor a woman received from the city would be directly related to the contribution of her children to the common good.

Similarly, *Ecclesiazusae* makes a repeated meta-theatrical joke of male actors dressed as female characters cross-dressing in men’s clothes,¹⁶² but the play also progresses to more serious use of ἀνδρεία as part of a new kind of civic life. Later, Praxagora asks the chorus to stay on as advisors, since they were so courageous in helping her: καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ μοι / ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ καὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς ἀνδρεϊόταται γεγέννησθε.¹⁶³ Thus, the ἀνδρεία of the chorus

¹⁵⁸ Bassi (2003) 44.

¹⁵⁹ Aristophanes *Thesmophoriazusae* 154.

¹⁶⁰ Aristophanes *Thesmophoriazusae* 656.

¹⁶¹ Aristophanes *Thesmophoriazusae* 839, the men with *andreia* are specified at 832-3 as *xrhistos* to the city, a *taxiarch* or *strategos*.

¹⁶² Aristophanes *Ecclesiazusae* 26, 75, 275.

¹⁶³ Aristophanes *Ecclesiazusae* 518-519: “In my eyes, you were very courageous in the chaos and troubles there.”

has developed from an element of their comic disguise to a serious mental attribute. And yet, just as in *Lysistrata*, the utopian comic fantasy requires that women be the most manly people in this new social order. As Praxagora shows later, more traditional martial ἀνδρεία then becomes a matter for children to sing about. In fact, Praxagora suggests using the *bema* as a place for children's recitations about courage and cowardice:

τοὺς κρατήρας καταθήσω
καὶ τὰς ὑδρίας, καὶ ῥαψωδεῖν ἔσται τοῖς παιδαρίοισιν
τοὺς ἀνδρείους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, κεῖ τις δειλὸς γεγένηται,
ἵνα μὴ δειπνῶσ' αἰσχυρόμενοι.¹⁶⁴

In this newly reorganized city, the equipment of the old political system is put to different uses that will reinforce the value system managed by Praxagora and the other women. Aristophanes' use of ἀνδρεία in this play reflects that theme, since ἀνδρεία changes from an external feature of the women to a mental quality that they actually show. Then the final appearance of ἀνδρεία in the play defines a new *polis*-specific ἀνδρεία for the reformed city.

In the *Frogs*, the only extant play of Aristophanes not about women where the vocabulary of ἀνδρεία is common,¹⁶⁵ the word occurs in jokes about both bodily functions and the function of poetry. In an episode that is "the stuff of slapstick and parody,"¹⁶⁶ Xanthias congratulates Dionysus for *andreia* when he soils himself in fright and calls for a sponge.¹⁶⁷ The god then retorts that his slave should put on the Herakles costume himself since he is

¹⁶⁴ Aristophanes *Ecclesiazusae* 677-679: "I will store mixing bowls and water jugs [in the *bema*], and it will be a place for little ones to make poetry about men courageous in war, and if someone has gone soft, [to make poetry about him] so that he does not share a meal from shame."

¹⁶⁵ In addition to the instances discussed in detail, the chorus once mentions marching courageously (ἀνδρείως, 372) and

¹⁶⁶ Bassi (2003) 44.

¹⁶⁷ Aristophanes *Frogs* 491.

manly (κάνδρεῖος) and fearless (ἀφοβόσπλαγχος).¹⁶⁸ This passage emphasizes the bodily nature of comic ἀνδρεία, both because it depends on donning a certain costume and because ἀφοβόσπλαγχος has a visceral meaning despite its metaphorical sense.¹⁶⁹ Later, ἀνδρεία is again related to the Herakles costume, when Xanthias claims that he will show ἀνδρεῖον τὸ λῆμα if Dionysus tries to take it back.¹⁷⁰ Sluiter and Rosen even argue that this comic association of Herakles and ἀνδρεία implies Aristophanes claims he himself is the true exemplar of andreia when he talks in the *parabases* of *Wasps* and *Peace* about his own fearlessness and invokes Herakles.¹⁷¹ Finally, when Aeschylus speaks about the good effects of the *Seven Against Thebes*, Dionysus retorts that it made Athens' enemies the Thebans more courageous (ἀνδρειοτέρους).¹⁷² This type of ἀνδρεία is open to suspicion both because it is a function of *mimesis* and because it belongs to enemies of Athens.¹⁷³

Herodotus also shows concern with the relationship between gender and ἀνδρεία, but he does not limit andreia to any one gender or ethnicity.¹⁷⁴ In Herodotus' version of the Egyptian priests' account, ἀνδρεία is contrasted with behavior explicitly marked as womanly:

Ὅτεοις μὲν νυν αὐτῶν ἀλκίμοις ἐνετύγχανε καὶ δεινῶς
μαχομένοις περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, τούτοις μὲν στήλας ἐνίστη ἐς
τὰς χώρας διὰ γραμμάτων λεγούσας τό τε ἑωυτοῦ οὖνομα καὶ τῆς

¹⁶⁸ Aristophanes *Frogs* 494-496.

¹⁶⁹ Bassi (2003) 45.

¹⁷⁰ Aristophanes *Frogs* 602 "courageous spirit."

¹⁷¹ Sluiter and Rosen (2003) 17-19.

¹⁷² Aristophanes *Frogs* 1024. It is interesting the Aristophanes jokes about the ἀνδρεία-causing effects of the play in which the word may have been coined.

¹⁷³ Bassi (2003) 45.

¹⁷⁴ Note, however, that the adjective ἀνδρεῖος appears once in contrast to 'feminine' in a phrase contrasting two different types of pipe: αὐλοῦ γυναικίου τε καὶ ἀνδρηίου (Herodotus 1.17).

πάτρης καὶ ὡς δυνάμι τῇ ἐωυτοῦ κατεστρέψατό σφεας· ὅτεων δὲ ἀμαχητὶ καὶ εὐπετέως παρέλαβε τὰς πόλεις, τούτοισι δὲ ἐνέγραφε ἐν τῇσι στήλῃσι κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖσι ἀνδρηίοισι τῶν ἐθνέων γενομένοισι καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰδοῖα γυναικὸς προσενέγραφε, δῆλα βουλόμενος ποιέειν ὡς εἶψαν ἀνάλκιδες.¹⁷⁵

The use of female genitals to signify cowardice shows that Herodotus assigns importance to the etymological derivation of ἀνδρεία, especially since there is no other evidence for the *stelai* Herodotus describes.¹⁷⁶

On other occasions, Herodotus connects ἀνδρεία with a woman and an effeminate man, although S. E. Harrell has shown that he marks these off as special cases by expressing his amazement at these individuals' exploits.¹⁷⁷ The woman who shows ἀνδρεία in the eyes of Herodotus is Artemisia, the ruler of his native city, Halicarnassus:

Τῶν μὲν νυν ἄλλων οὐ παραμέμνημαι ταξιάρχων ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενος, Ἀρτεμισίης δέ, τῆς μάλιστα θῶμα ποιεῖμαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσαμένης γυναικός, ἥτις, ἀποθανόντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῇ τε ἔχουσα τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ παιδὸς ὑπάρχοντος νεηνίῳ, ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ ἀνδρηίης ἐστρατεύετο, οὐδεμιῆς οἱ ἐούσης ἀναγκαίης.¹⁷⁸

The perceived oxymoron of feminine manliness also leads Herodotus to express wonder at the courageous actions of Telines, who was reputed to be quite effeminate:

Θῶμά μοι ὦν καὶ τοῦτο γέγονε πρὸς τὰ πυνθάνομαι, κατεργάσασθαι Τηλίνην ἔργον τοσοῦτο· τὰ τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἔργα οὐ πρὸς [τοῦ] ἅπαντος ἀνδρὸς νενόμικα γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ψυχῆς

¹⁷⁵ Herodotus 2.102.4-5: "Whenever he happened upon those who were valiant and fought amazingly for their freedom, he set up *stelae* in their lands saying in letters his own name, his country, and how he subdued them with his own power. Whenever he took the cities of men easily and without fighting, for them he inscribed *stelae* just like for the brave men and also added the genitals of a woman, wishing to show clearly how cowardly they were."

¹⁷⁶ Marincola (2003) 640 n 58.

¹⁷⁷ Harrell (2003) 77.

¹⁷⁸ Herodotus 7.99.1: "I have not mentioned other commanders since it is not necessary, but [I must mention] Artemisia, at whom I marvel since she, a woman, campaigned against Greece. She, holding the tyranny when her husband died despite having a son of age, campaigned because of her resolution and courage, although there was no necessity."

τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ ῥώμης ἀνδρηίης· ὁ δὲ λέγεται πρὸς τῆς Σικελίης
τῶν οἰκητόρων τὰ ὑπεναντία τούτων πεφυκέναι θηλυδρίας τε καὶ
μαλακώτερος ἀνὴρ.¹⁷⁹

Although Artemisia's femininity and Telines' effeminacy cause Herodotus to express amazement at their courage, he nevertheless does not decline to call them 'manly.' Thus, Herodotus takes some notice of the word's etymology, but he does not let the derivation of the word dominate its meaning in his text.

Furthermore, Herodotus often uses superlative forms of the adjective with no relation to questions of gender. Herodotus' account of the history of Hegesistratos shows that Herodotus, like Thucydides, sees a link between ἀνδρεία and τόλμα:

Ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐδέδετο ἐν ξύλῳ σιδηροδέτῳ, ἐσενειχθέντος κως
σιδηρίου ἐκράτησε, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐμηχανᾶτο ἀνδρηϊότατον ἔργον
πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· σταθμωσάμενος γὰρ ὅκως ἐξελεύσεται
οἱ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ποδός, ἀπέταμε τὸν ταρσὸν ἐωυτοῦ. Ταῦτα δὲ
ποιήσας, ὥστε φυλασσόμενος ὑπὸ φυλάκων, διορύξας τὸν τοῖχον
ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην, τὰς μὲν νύκτας πορευόμενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας
καταδύνων ἐς ὕλην καὶ αὐλιζόμενος. Οὕτω ὥστε Λακεδαιμονίων
πανδημεὶ διζημένων τρίτῃ εὐφρόνῃ γενέσθαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, τοὺς δὲ
ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέχεσθαι τῆς τε τόλμης, ὁρῶντας τὸ ἡμίτομον
τοῦ ποδὸς κείμενον κάκεῖνον οὐ δυναμένους εὐρεῖν.¹⁸⁰

Herodotus himself names the actions ἀνδρηϊότατον at the beginning, and he says at the end of the story that the Tegeans were in awe of the τόλμα of cutting off his foot, implying that τόλμα and ἀνδρεία are synonymous. And

¹⁷⁹ Herodotus 7.153.3: "In view of what I hear, it is amazing to me that Telines accomplished so great a deed, since I have always thought that such deeds did not belong to all men, but to a good soul and courageous strength; but the opposite of these things is said by the inhabitants of Sicily, that he was an effeminate and rather soft man."

¹⁸⁰ Herodotus 9.37.2-3: "When he was bound in iron stocks, he laid hold of an iron weapon that was brought in somehow and contrived the most courageous deed of all those which I know about: calculating how he could save the rest of his foot, he cut off part of it. After doing this, since he was guarded by guards, he dug through the wall and escaped to Tegea, travelling by night, hiding in the woods and holing up by day. In this way, while the Lacedaemonians were hunting him in full force, he reached Tegea on the third night. The Lacedaemonians were in a state of great amazement at his boldness, since they saw half a foot lying cut off and could not find the man."

yet, Herodotus could also be including Hegesistratus' ability to avoid discovery as well as his self mutilation in what he terms most courageous. Flower and Marincola argue that the construction with a form of οἶδα and the superlative adjective ἀνδρηϊότατον emphasize the uniqueness of the "sheer physical bravery of Hegesistratus."¹⁸¹ And yet they also claim that Hegesistratus' history does not have particular "thematic resonance or importance for the story" because he disappears from the following action, but rather the anecdote is included so that the Persians' seer seems to be a worthy match for the Greeks' seer, Teisamenus.¹⁸²

In another passage, Herodotus mentions that the extreme ἀνδρεία of the youthful Cyrus motivates Harpagus to seek his aid. Harpagus, looking for an ally to help take revenge against Astyages, courts Cyrus: Κύρῳ δὲ ἀνδρουμένῳ καὶ ἐόντι τῶν ἡλικίων ἀνδρηϊοτάτῳ καὶ προσφιλεστάτῳ προσέκειτο ὁ Ἄρπαγος δῶρα πέμπων, τείσασθαι Ἀστυάγεα ἐπιθυμέων.¹⁸³ As in other passages, Cyrus' ἀνδρεία is more an incidental attribute than a major part of the narrative. Herodotus also uses the superlative adjective to introduce the most fearsome ethnic group of a certain area, yet those he labels courageous do not necessarily gain victory. When introducing the Lydians, Herodotus says, Ἦν δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ οὔτε ἀνδρηϊότερον οὔτε ἀλκιμώτερον τοῦ Λυδίου.¹⁸⁴ Similarly, Herodotus says that οἱ δὲ Γέται πρὸς ἀγνωμοσύνην τραπόμενοι αὐτίκα

¹⁸¹ Flower and Marincola (2002) 177.

¹⁸² *Ibid.* 175.

¹⁸³ Herodotus 1.123.1: "To Cyrus, when he became a man and was the most manly and popular of his agemates, Harpagus paid court by sending gifts, zealous to avenge himself on Astyages."

¹⁸⁴ Herodotus 1.79.3: "There was during this time no race in Asia more courageous and mighty than the Lydian."

ἐδουλώθησαν, Θρηίκων ἐόντες ἀνδρηιότατοι καὶ δικαιοτάτοι.¹⁸⁵ The loss the Getae suffer at Darius' hands shows that ἀνδρεία is not a decisive martial quality in the eyes of Herodotus. In fact, those with ἀνδρεία often lose in Herodotus' narrative.

2.3 Thucydides on Courage

Unlike Sophocles and Herodotus, Thucydides reserves ἀνδρεία for Greek men alone. And yet Thucydides does not use ἀνδρεία as a marker of gender; instead, ἀνδρεία is a virtue associated with the kind of war that Greek men fight. Out of a total of sixteen occurrences of ἀνδρεία and derivatives in Thucydides, only four appear outside of direct or indirect speeches: in Thucydides' analysis of *stasis* at 3.82.4, during the battle of Mantinea at 5.72.2, during the first major land battle in Sicily at 6.69.1, and in his description of Hermocrates at 6.72.2. This section will investigate what this one section of abstract analysis, two battle narratives, and description of an individual reveal about Thucydides' conception of ἀνδρεία.

Table 2.1 – Thucydides on ἀνδρεία
3.82.4 – In <i>stasis</i> , irrational daring is considered partisan courage (ἀνδρεία)
5.72.2 – The Lacedaemonians at Mantinea, after being bested in all respects in skill, then showed themselves to be no less superior in courage (ἀνδρεία)
6.69.1 – In this battle and in the others, the Syracusans were no worse in courage to the extent that their knowledge held out (ἀνδρεία)
6.72.2 – Hermocrates was in other respects inferior to no man in knowledge and in military affairs sufficient in experience and brilliant in courage (ἀνδρεία)

Thucydides' general remarks on *stasis*, which show that this episode is meant to act as a paradigm for the many instances of *stasis* that occurred across Greece as a result of the Peloponnesian War,¹⁸⁶ pair ἀνδρεία and

¹⁸⁵ Herodotus 4.93: "the Getae turned to folly [by resisting Darius] and were enslaved immediately, although they were the most courageous and just of the Thracians."

¹⁸⁶ Hornblower 1 490.

tolma. Thucydides explains how civic and martial values are confused by men embroiled in factional conflict: καὶ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ἀξίωσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἀντήλλαξαν τῇ δικαίῳσει. τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγιστος ἀνδρεία φιλέταιρος ἐνομίσθη.¹⁸⁷ That is, when a man who is involved in civil war performs an act of irrational daring, the members of his party praise him for his courage on their behalf. Thus, his description of *stasis* sheds more light on how Thucydides conceptualizes τόλμα, since this is the quality that these men reevaluate as ἀνδρεία.

Although Bassi argues that Thucydides' use of ἀνδρεία at 3.82 is decisive, claiming that it "colors all other occurrences of the word in the *History*,"¹⁸⁸ I believe the usage at 5.72 better shows how Thucydides himself conceives of manly courage. The meaning of ἀνδρεία is indeed contested both within and among cities in Thucydides' account of the war,¹⁸⁹ so it is crucial to disentangle Thucydides' own statements about ἀνδρεία from the instances of ἀνδρεία in direct and indirect speech. In fact, Thucydides provides an object example of his own conception of ἀνδρεία in his description of the battle of Mantinea. Identifying the use of ἀνδρεία at 5.72 as prototypical makes ἀνδρεία a wholly martial virtue, but Thucydides does not explicitly vouch for a political conception of ἀνδρεία. Indeed, the theme of

¹⁸⁷ T 3.82.4: "Further, they exchanged their usual verbal evaluations of deeds for new ones, in the light of what they now thought justified; thus irrational daring was considered courage for the sake of the Party." (tr. Wilson). See Allison (1997a) 168 and Bassi (2003) 28 for other recent literal translations of this sentence.

¹⁸⁸ Bassi (2003) 49. Her point, however, that 3.82 proves different cities and different groups within cities struggled over the meaning of ἀνδρεία is certainly valid, and one must accordingly remain cognizant of who is deploying the vocabulary of ἀνδρεία and for what purpose.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

ἀνδρεία in the *Histories* appears primarily in martial contexts, and only 3.82 explicitly discuss the political ramifications of one's conception of ἀνδρεία.

The battle of Mantinea offers a vivid portrayal of the difference between the Lacedaemonians' morale and that of the other Greeks, and it also sheds great light on the relationship between ἀνδρεία and success in battle. In his description of the battle, Thucydides includes much "paradigmatic material about ancient hoplite battles,"¹⁹⁰ and this battle is closer than any other in his work to the ideal hoplite clash discussed in chapter one. Especially noteworthy is the explanation that one side triumphed through ἀνδρεία,¹⁹¹ since Thucydides' attribution of courage to the Lacedaemonians in this battle shows his preference for a "fair" hoplite battle. Of the terms discussed in this thesis, ἀνδρεία has by far the most positive connotations, so its association with victory in a hoplite battle is indicative of Thucydides' own valuations of various types of combat.

As the battle begins, Thucydides claims that the Argive advance greatly shocked the Lacedaemonians: μάλιστα δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς ὃ ἐμέμνηντο ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐξεπλάγησαν.¹⁹² Their ability to overcome this great shock and maintain order is part of the reason Thucydides credits them with ἀνδρεία. Unlike the Argives and their allies, who advanced intensely and with passion, the Lacedaemonians proceeded in slow order to the tune of the *aulos*, which helped them stay in perfect order.¹⁹³ The Spartan King, Agis,

¹⁹⁰ Hornblower 3 163-164.

¹⁹¹ T 5.72.2.

¹⁹² T 5.66.2: "At this time, the Lacedaemonians were the most shocked that they remembered." Hornblower 3 173-174 notes that this sentence marks the focalization of this entire section as essentially Spartan and that the emphatic claim may reflect exaggeration on the part of Thucydides' informants.

¹⁹³ 5.70.

decided to try a last minute maneuver to prevent his men from being outflanked, so he ordered the troops on the left wing to open a gap and some regiments from the right to go fill it.¹⁹⁴ The troops from the right did not go to plug the gap, and so the left wing of the Lacedaemonian line was surrounded and put to flight. The Lacedaemonian right, however, held their ground and routed the Argives and allies opposed to them, many of whom did not even endure the first clash before running.¹⁹⁵ The Argive line was now cut in two, and the victorious Argives also took to flight when they saw their allies defeated and the Lacedaemonians bearing down on them.¹⁹⁶

The outcome of this battle hinged entirely on the morale of the two sides. The Argive and Athenian side had poor morale: many of them broke even before a blow was struck and the successful wing could not endure the sight of the rest fleeing. The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, had very good morale:¹⁹⁷ they kept order, and most of the line stood firm despite the rout of the left wing, which was made up of helots and others rather than actual Spartans.¹⁹⁸ After explaining the failed maneuver but before describing the outcome of the battle, Thucydides gives his own judgment of what happened: ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δὴ κατὰ πάντα τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐλασσωθέντες τότε τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ ἔδειξαν οὐχ ἥσσον περιγενόμενοι.¹⁹⁹

The tense of the participles shows that the failure in ἐμπειρία applies only to

¹⁹⁴ 5.71.

¹⁹⁵ 5.72.

¹⁹⁶ 5.73.

¹⁹⁷ Lazenby (1991) 104 cites Epameinondas for the opinion that it was very hard to find men who could endure seeing part of their own army fleeing (Xenophon *Hellenica* 7.5.24).

¹⁹⁸ See Hornblower 3 79 and 174-175 for a discussion of the precise identities of the Sciritae, Brasidaeioi, and Neodamodeis.

¹⁹⁹ 5.72.2: "The Lacedaemonians, after being bested in all respects in skill, then showed themselves to be no less superior in courage."

this battle, the implication being that the Spartans normally won through a combination of ἐμπειρία and ἀνδρεία.²⁰⁰ The key to understanding Thucydides' point is recognizing why he placed this sentence here. It comes in the midst of the battle account and functions as a descriptive turning point. What preceded, the unsuccessful maneuver, constitutes the Spartan failure in ἐμπειρία,²⁰¹ and what follows, the actual fighting, shows their triumph in ἀνδρεία. Therefore, Thucydides conceives of ἀνδρεία as the quality that enables the Spartan phalanx to win even when discipline fails. In addition, this Spartan victory enables Thucydides to return to the questions raised about the relationship between ἐμπειρία and ἀνδρεία in the paired speeches at Naupactus. Whereas the episode at Naupactus shows that the Lacedaemonians are mistaken about the relative importance of experience and ἀνδρεία in a sea battle, they show something at Mantinea like the innate ἀνδρεία that does not require ἐμπειρία claimed by Cnemus, Brasidas, and the generals.²⁰²

And yet this structural parallelism leads Thucydides to use ἐμπειρία in a sense that has elicited comment from numerous scholars. Gomme et al. find the use of ἐμπειρία in this sentence strange, since the Spartans showed their 'professional skill' or 'experience' in this battle as much as their courage.²⁰³ Hornblower notes that ἐμπειρία here must mean something like professional or tactical skill here, since the Spartans' experience in war is not

²⁰⁰ Gomme et al. (1970) 121.

²⁰¹ Classen (1882) 139.

²⁰² See the next section for a discussion of ἀνδρεία and ἐμπειρία at Naupactus.

²⁰³ *Ibid.* 120-121, where Gomme et al. argue that ἀνδρεία is emphasized here to contrast the surrender on Sphacteria, which they call a clear failure of ἀνδρεία, with the important victory here.

at issue and has been emphasized as recently as 5.69.2.²⁰⁴ Classen is perhaps the most convincing, explaining that ἐμπειρία here is the agility and dexterity won through experience and practice, which can also fail despite general proficiency.²⁰⁵ Furthermore, Thucydides uses *empeiria* in a similar sense elsewhere, such as when he describes the difficulty of the Lacedaemonian hoplites on Sphacteria: τοῖς μὲν οὖν ὀπλίταις οὐκ ἐδυνήθησαν προσμεῖξαι οὐδὲ τῇ σφετέρῃ ἐμπειρίᾳ χρήσασθαι.²⁰⁶

The Spartans' ἀνδρεία is important not only because it enables the Spartans to endure but also because it prevents the Argives and their allies from standing their ground. That is, one side's reputation for ἀνδρεία can shake the morale of the other side.²⁰⁷ Despite the damage of the surrender on Sphacteria to the Spartans' reputation, their opponents barely withstand the first clash. Clearly, the Argives and others who faced the Lacedaemonian army as it calmly advanced in good order did not believe the soldiers were cowards. Furthermore, the victory at Mantinea restored the reputation of the Spartans among the rest of the Greeks, as well: τύχῃ μὲν, ὡς ἐδόκουν, κακιζόμενοι, γνώμη δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἔτι ὄντες.²⁰⁸ And yet Thucydides' contrast of their successful *andreia* and unsuccessful *empeiria* at Mantinea proves that it was the Lacedaemonians' reputation for courage rather than tactical skill that was restored.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁴ Hornblower 3 189.

²⁰⁵ Classen (1882) 139.

²⁰⁶ T 4.33.2: "It was not possible for the hoplites to fight hand-to-hand and use their skill won through practice."

²⁰⁷ Compare Luginbill (1999) 89-90, who explains how τόλμα encourages its possessors and produces fear in others.

²⁰⁸ 5.75.3: "They [the Spartans] were worsted by fortune, as it seemed [to the other Greeks], but they were still the same men in mindset."

²⁰⁹ Gomme et al. (1970) 121.

Thucydides' attribution of ἀνδρεία to the Spartans in their greatest hoplite victory of the war shows also much about how he values different types of combat, specifically that he is part of the widespread phenomenon of Greek "hoplite chauvinism," which holds that hoplite battle is the best way to settle military disputes.²¹⁰ Lendon argues that hoplite combat held such appeal to the Greeks because the clash of hoplite phalanxes was the ultimate symmetrical test of both individuals' and cities' passive courage, a mental quality that men exhibit by standing their ground as a unit.²¹¹ In fact, many have privileged hand-to-hand combat as the most courageous way to fight throughout history, from Homer to the modern day.²¹²

The comment by Thucydides on Syracusan morale at the battle of the Anapus River gives another example of the link between τόλμα, ἀνδρεία, and other mental qualities. Although Thucydides is addressing why the Syracusans lost this particular battle, he also makes a general point about Syracusan morale:

οὐ γὰρ δὴ προθυμία ἐλλιπεῖς ἦσαν οὐδὲ τόλμη οὔτ' ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ οὔτ' ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις, ἀλλὰ τῇ μὲν ἀνδρεία οὐχ ἥσσους ἐς ὅσον ἢ ἐπιστήμη ἀντέχοι, τῷ δὲ ἐλλείποντι αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν βούλησιν ἄκοντες προουδίδουσιν.²¹³

This sentence occurs in connection with a land battle that serves as a paradigm of hoplite battles in this period of the war.²¹⁴ The first clause attributes προθυμία and τόλμα to the Syracusans in this and the other

²¹⁰ Hanson (2000) 219-222. See also Pritchett 2 173-174, 251-252.

²¹¹ Lendon (2005) 63.

²¹² Hanson (2004) 93.

²¹³ T 6.69.1: "In fact, they were not deficient in eagerness or daring either in this battle or in the others; and they were no worse in courage as long as their knowledge held out, but when it ran short they unwillingly gave up their resolve as well."

²¹⁴ Mitchell (1996) 92; there were light armed troops taking part in this battle, but Thucydides dismisses them as unimportant (6.69.2).

battles, which should be taken to include sea battles as well as land battles. Thus, Thucydides himself prepares the theme of Syracusan τόλμα which later proves so effective against the Athenian expedition.²¹⁵ The second half of the sentence seems to apply especially to this battle, since the inexperience of the Syracusans is contrasted with the experience of the Athenians and their allies in the battle description.²¹⁶ Although in this instance the battle is decided by knowledge rather than ἀνδρεία, Thucydides' insistence on the ἀνδρεία, προθυμία, and τόλμα of the Syracusans prefigures their ultimate success against the Athenians. In fact, the phrase "neither in this battle nor the others" cues the reader that the interplay between the Syracusans' knowledge of warfare and their mental qualities will become important in later battles, a point driven home by the paraphrase of Hermocrates' encouragement to spend the winter training.²¹⁷ Intelligence and skill, which presuppose some sort of training or experience, are crucial to morale in battle and in other aspects of life.²¹⁸

Thucydides' judgment of Hermocrates returns to the relationship between ἀνδρεία and ἐμπειρία, since Thucydides calls him ἀνὴρ καὶ ἐς τὰλλα ξύνεσιν οὐδενὸς λειπόμενος καὶ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐμπειρία τε ἱκανὸς γενόμενος καὶ ἀνδρεία ἐπιφανής.²¹⁹ This description is close to the highest praise that Thucydides gives, and it is noteworthy that Hermocrates is

²¹⁵ See the next chapter for more on Syracusan τόλμα.

²¹⁶ T 6.70.1: τοῖς μὲν πρῶτον μαχομένοις (the Syracusans) ... τοῖς δ' ἐμπειροτέροις (the Athenians). Hornblower 3 477-481 argues a different interpretation, that Thucydides is contrasting groups of more and less experienced men on both sides.

²¹⁷ T 6.72.4, where Hermocrates tells the Syracusans that they already have *andreia* but must train and add experience to it.

²¹⁸ Lord (1918) 146.

²¹⁹ T 6.72.2: "a man in other respects short of no one and in war both sufficient in experience and outstanding in courage." See Hornblower 3 485, which points to the contrast of Hermocrates' union of experience and courage and the Spartans' deficiency in one at Mantinea.

said to combine ἐμπειρία and ἀνδρεία, while the Spartans at Mantinea were deficient in one.²²⁰ Thucydides' statement here also draws a clear distinction between war and non-war, since ξύνεσις is the outstanding quality of Hermocrates outside of war, but ἐμπειρία and ἀνδρεία enable him to achieve victory for himself and his city. Thus, here also Thucydides identifies ἀνδρεία as a martial virtue. Since one of the themes of the Sicilian expedition is the Syracusans' lack of ἐμπειρία at the beginning of the conflict, Thucydides is already setting up their success by showing how their leader will make up for their deficiencies. Indeed, it is this union of intelligence, courage, and skill that enables Hermocrates to manage the Syracusans even as they match the Athenians in boldness.

2.4 Courage and Knowledge: Naupactus and Syracuse

Thucydides explores the relationship between ἀνδρεία and ἐπιστήμη or ἐμπειρία in more depth through the complex of speeches and narrative describing the sea battles near Naupactus, and he returns to Syracusan ἀνδρεία and ἐπιστήμη in an indirect speech of Hermocrates that is a reaction to the Syracusan defeat discussed above. Although each of these occurrences is in the voice of a speaker rather than Thucydides, the interaction of the narrative with these speeches still sheds light on Thucydides' conception of ἀνδρεία. Although the arguments of the Peloponnesian commanders suggest that ἀνδρεία is an innate attribute, Thucydides implies that ἀνδρεία does not exist without experience in his account of the fighting at Naupactus and Syracuse.

²²⁰ Hornblower 3 485, claiming that the ἀρετή and ξύνεσις predicated of Brasidas (4.81.2) represent Thucydides' "highest accolade."

Table 2.2 – Knowledge and ἀνδρεία in Thucydides	
<i>Speeches of Athenians</i>	<i>Speeches of Peloponnesians and Allies</i>
	2.87.3 – the Peloponnesian commanders argue that when courage is present, men would not likely put forward inexperience as an excuse (ἀνδρείου)
	2.87.3 – the Peloponnesian commanders argue that men can be hindered by fortune, but the courageous are always the same in their mindset (ἀνδρείους)
	2.87.4 – the Peloponnesian commanders argue that knowledge, with courage and memory, can accomplish amidst danger what it has learned (ἀνδρείαν)
2.89.2 – Phormio argues that the Peloponnesians trust that being courageous belongs to them only because of their experience of winning on land (ἀνδρείους)	
	6.72.4 – Hermocrates argues that the Syracusans should train, since they already had courage, and this would add discipline in action to it (ἀνδρείας)

The two sea battles near Naupactus reinforce the paradigmatic elements of fighting at sea that Thucydides introduced in the account of Sybota.²²¹ Although Cnemus, Brasidas, and the other commanders claim that their superior ἀνδρεία and τόλμα will match the Athenians' superior ἐπιστήμη and τέχνη, the Peloponnesians' inexperience ultimately causes both defeats. Brasidas and the others try to convince their men that they have an innate advantage that the Athenians cannot beat:

ὥστε οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν κακίαν τὸ ἡσσᾶσθαι προσεγένετο, οὐδὲ δίκαιον τῆς γνώμης τὸ μὴ κατὰ κράτος νικηθέν, ἔχον δέ τινα ἐν αὐτῷ ἀντιλογίαν, τῆς γε ξυμφορᾶς τῷ ἀποβάντι ἀμβλύνεσθαι, νομίσαι δὲ ταῖς μὲν τύχαις ἐνδέχεσθαι σφάλλεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ταῖς δὲ γνώμαις τοὺς αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ ὀρθῶς ἀνδρείους εἶναι, καὶ μὴ ἀπειρίαν τοῦ ἀνδρείου παρόντος προβαλλομένους εἰκότως ἂν ἐν τινι κακοὺς γενέσθαι. ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδ' ἡ ἀπειρία τοσοῦτον λείπεται ὅσον τόλμῃ προύχετε· τῶνδε δὲ ἡ ἐπιστήμη, ἣν μάλιστα φοβεῖσθε, ἀνδρείαν μὲν ἔχουσα καὶ μνήμην ἔξει ἐν τῷ δεινῷ ἐπιτελεῖν ἃ ἔμαθεν, ἄνευ δὲ εὐψυχίας οὐδεμία τέχνη πρὸς

²²¹ T 1.49.2-3, especially the explanation that sea battles are typically decided by ἐπιστήμη.

τοὺς κινδύνους ἰσχύει. φόβος γὰρ μνήμην ἐκπλήσσει, τέχνη δὲ ἄνευ ἀλκῆς οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ ἐμπειρότερον αὐτῶν τὸ τολμηρότερον ἀντιτάξασθε, πρὸς δὲ τὸ διὰ τὴν ἦσσαν δεδιέναι τὸ ἀπαράσκευοι τότε τυχεῖν.²²²

The Peloponnesian commanders minimize the importance of their inexperience in the initial defeat,²²³ but Thucydides himself mentions it as a significant factor in the rout once one of the generals' ships is sunk.²²⁴ Instead, Brasidas and the others are mostly concerned with the Peloponnesians' ἀνδρεία in both the previous and coming sea battles, since they have no cause for fear if they have not shown cowardice.²²⁵ The most notable claim of the Peloponnesians for this study is that ἐπιστήμη is nothing without ἀνδρεία, because knowledge and expertise are quickly forgotten unless courage is also present.²²⁶ The argument also implies that ἀνδρεία is the ability to exercise knowledge in the face of fear or pain.²²⁷ Thus, Brasidas and the others claim that the Athenians have ἐπιστήμη but not ἀνδρεία, the opposite of Thucydides' description of the Syracusans, who initially have ἀνδρεία but not ἐπιστήμη. The narrative here shows that the

²²² T 2.87.3-5: "It was not, therefore, cowardice that produced our defeat, nor ought the determination which force has not quelled, but which still has a word to say with its adversary, to lose its edge from the result of an accident; but admitting the possibility of a chance miscarriage, we should know that courageous men are always the same in mindset, and while courage is present it is unseemly to put forward inexperience as an excuse for misconduct. Nor are you so behind the enemy in experience as you are ahead of him in daring; and although the science of your opponents would, if courage accompanied it, have also the presence of mind to carry out at an emergency the lesson it has learnt, yet a faint heart will make all art powerless in the face of danger. For fear takes away presence of mind, and without bravery art is useless. Against their superior experience set your superior daring, and against the fear induced by defeat the fact of your having been then unprepared" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

²²³ T 2.87.2.

²²⁴ T 2.84.3.

²²⁵ Hunter (1973) 47.

²²⁶ T 2.87.4.

²²⁷ Balot (2001) 518.

Peloponnesians are wrong to value ἀνδρεία over experience or skill,²²⁸ so Thucydides' later statement that ἀνδρεία fails when ἐπιστήμη runs out shows the more correct understanding of ἀνδρεία. Pericles, for his part, claims that the Athenians have something like the combination of thought and action that the Peloponnesian leaders say they lack, and the results of the battle validate Pericles rather than the Peloponnesians.²²⁹

Phormio, seeming to answer a Peloponnesian speech he could not have heard,²³⁰ argues that the Peloponnesians' courage depends on experience and is not an inborn trait. The result of the second sea battle proves that Phormio understands the nature of fighting at sea better than the Peloponnesian commanders, but Phormio's claims have universal resonance.

Phormio begins by attacking the Peloponnesians' claim to ἀνδρεία:

ἔπειτα ᾧ μάλιστα πιστεύοντες προσέρχονται, ὡς προσήκον σφίσιν ἀνδρείοις εἶναι, οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι θαρσοῦσιν ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πεζῷ ἐμπειρίαν τὰ πλείω κατορθοῦντες, καὶ οἴονται σφίσι καὶ ἐν τῷ ναυτικῷ ποιήσιν τὸ αὐτό. τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου ἡμῖν μᾶλλον νῦν περιέσται, εἴπερ καὶ τούτοις ἐν ἐκείνῳ, ἐπεὶ εὐψυχία γε οὐδὲν προφέρουσι, τῷ δὲ ἐκάτεροί τι εἶναι ἐμπειρότεροι θρασύτεροί ἐσμεν.²³¹

He argues that the Peloponnesians do not have innate ἀνδρεία, rather each side is more confident where they have experience. Like 5.72 and 4.33, ἐμπειρία in this sentence must refer to the skill that experience imparts rather than experience itself. That is, Phormio argues that the Lacedaemonians

²²⁸ Hunter (1973) 48-49.

²²⁹ Hornblower 1 367-368.

²³⁰ Hornblower 1 368.

²³¹ T 2.89.2-3: "Next, as to that upon which they most rely, the courage which they suppose constitutional to them, their confidence here only arises from the success which their skill from experience in land service usually gives them, and which they fancy will do the same for them at sea. But this advantage will in all justice belong to us on this element, if to them on that; as they are not superior to us in bravery, but we are each of us more confident in whatever we are more skillful" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

typically win on land because they have cultivated the necessary skills, not simply because they remember winning in the past. Thus, morale in this battle depends more on skill developed through experience than native courage.²³² Furthermore, although the Peloponnesians claim that they possess τόλμα, Thucydides clearly shows that he believes τόλμα belongs to the Athenians in these two battles, especially since they dare to fight at a significant numerical disadvantage. Thus, Phormio's claim that the Athenians have both the daring and experience necessary for victory rings true: πολλὰ δὲ καὶ στρατόπεδα ἤδη ἔπεσεν ὑπ' ἐλασσόνων τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ, ἔστι δὲ ἃ καὶ τῇ ἀτολμίᾳ· ὧν οὐδετέρου ἡμεῖς νῦν μετέχομεν.²³³ Although Thucydides does not believe that daring and experience are the only determinants of victory, a lack of either quality is a hindrance. Despite their claims to the contrary, their clear inferiority in τόλμα and ἐμπειρία leads to the Peloponnesians' defeat in the battles here. The thematic resonances between the two speeches and the clear superiority of Phormio's reasoning confirms Romilly's argument that the outcome of the battle is prefigured in these paired speeches.²³⁴

In the actual battle, the Peloponnesians successfully execute a naval maneuver, but their disordered pursuit and an unexpected counter attack leads to another rout. Just like in the first battle, the numerical advantage of the Peloponnesians brings initial success, but a single setback crushes their morale:

ιδόντες δὲ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι κατὰ μίαν ἐπὶ κέρως παραπλέοντας καὶ ἤδη ὄντας ἐντὸς τοῦ κόλπου τε καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ, ὅπερ ἐβούλοντο μάλιστα, ἀπὸ σημείου ἐνὸς ἄφνω ἐπιστρέψαντες τὰς

²³² Hunter (1973) 50.

²³³ T 2.89.7: "Many have already fallen to less numerous opponents because of inexperience, and some also because of lack of daring; but we have a share in neither of these things."

²³⁴ Romilly (1956) 140-150.

ναῦς μετωπηδὸν ἔπλεον, ὥς εἶχε τάχους ἕκαστος, ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ἤλπιζον πάσας τὰς ναῦς ἀπολήψεσθαι. τῶν δὲ ἔνδεκα μὲν τινες αἵπερ ἡγούντο ὑπεκφεύγουσι τὸ κέρας τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν· τὰς δ' ἄλλας ἐπικαταλαβόντες ἐξέωσάν τε πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὑποφευγούσας καὶ διέφθειραν, ἄνδρας τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπέκτειναν ὅσοι μὴ ἐξένευσαν αὐτῶν.²³⁵

This successful maneuver shows that the Peloponnesians did prepare better for the second battle, as their speech claims. The quick reversal, however, shows that they still lack ἐμπειρία and validates Phormio's argument in his speech:

τοῖς μὲν οὖν Πελοποννησίοις γενομένου τούτου ἀπροσδοκίτου τε καὶ παρὰ λόγον φόβος ἐμπίπτει, καὶ ἅμα ἀτάκτως διώκοντες διὰ τὸ κρατεῖν αἱ μὲν τινες τῶν νεῶν καθεῖσαι τὰς κώπας ἐπέστησαν τοῦ πλοῦ, ἀξύμφορον δρῶντες πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ὀλίγου ἀντεφόρμῃσιν, βουλόμενοι τὰς πλείους περιμεῖναι, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἐς βράχεα ἀπειρία χωρίων ὤκειλαν.²³⁶

Although Thucydides only explicitly mentions ἀπειρία of the area causing some to run aground, the fleet's inability to endure the unexpected, in contrast to the flexibility of the Athenian force in this battle, shows that inexperience was a major hindrance to the Peloponnesians here. In fact, the outcome of the battle validates Phormio's assertion that confidence in battle is based on experience of victory.

²³⁵ T 2.90.4-5: "The Peloponnesians seeing him coasting along with his ships in single file, and by this inside the gulf and close in shore as they so much wished, at one signal tacked suddenly and bore down in line at their best speed on the Athenians, hoping to cut off the whole squadron. The eleven leading vessels, however, escaped the Peloponnesian wing and its sudden movement, and reached the more open water; but the rest were overtaken as they tried to run through, driven ashore and disabled; such of the crews being slain as had not swum out of them" (tr. Crawley).

²³⁶ T 2.91.4: "An exploit so sudden and unexpected produced a panic among the Peloponnesians; and having fallen out of order in the excitement of victory, some of them dropped their oars and stopped their way in order to let the main body come up—an unsafe thing to do considering how near they were to the enemy's prows; while others ran aground in the shallows, in their ignorance of the localities" (tr. Crawley).

The remarks of Thucydides about the ἀνδρεία of the Syracusans and Hermocrates discussed above are also accompanied by a reported speech of Hermocrates. Just as the final battle in the Great Harbor allows Thucydides to reconsider the links between τόλμα and ἐπιστήμη/ἐμπειρία established in the Naupactus episode,²³⁷ the first land battle in Sicily gives him an opportunity to revisit the relationship between ἀνδρεία and ἐπιστήμη/ἐμπειρία. Indeed, one of the major themes of the early part of the war in Sicily is the contrast “between the ἐπιστήμη of the Athenians and the mere courage of the enemy.”²³⁸ Thucydides does not just assess Syracusan ἐπιστήμη and ἀνδρεία in his own voice, he also paraphrases a speech of Hermocrates that cites the ἀνδρεία of the Syracusans and encourages them to train and make up for their lack of experience and skill. This episode is such a paradigmatic account of active preparation for war that Pritchett uses the battle at the Anapus River and the subsequent actions of the Syracusans as evidence for the nature of Greek military training.²³⁹ Hermocrates’ reported words give a clear idea of the relationship between ἀνδρεία and military skill, and their similarity to Thucydides’ nearby statements about the Syracusans’ and Hermocrates’ ἀνδρεία shows that the author is in basic agreement with the advice:

ἦν δὲ ὀλίγοι τε στρατηγοὶ γένωνται ἔμπειροι καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι
τούτῳ παρασκευάσωσι τὸ ὀπλιτικόν, οἷς τε ὅπλα μὴ ἔστιν
ἐκπορίζοντες, ὅπως ὡς πλείστοι ἔσσονται, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ μελέτῃ
προσαναγκάζοντες, ἔφη κατὰ τὸ εἶκος κρατήσιν σφᾶς τῶν
ἐναντίων, ἀνδρείας μὲν σφίσιν ὑπαρχούσης, εὐταξίας δ’ ἐς τὰ
ἔργα προσγενομένης· ἐπιδώσειν γὰρ ἀμφότερα αὐτά, τὴν μὲν

²³⁷ See section 3.5 for a discussion of the battle in the Great Harbor.

²³⁸ Finley (1967) 150.

²³⁹ Pritchett 2 (1974) 212; Hornblower 3 474 also notes that many parts of 7.69-71, which contain Thucydides’ remarks on Syracusan ἀνδρεία, are paradigmatic.

μετὰ κινδύνων μελετωμένην, τὴν δ' εὐψυχίαν αὐτὴν ἑαυτῆς μετὰ τοῦ πιστοῦ τῆς ἐπιστήμης θαρσαλεωτέραν ἔσεσθαι.²⁴⁰

This relationship between Hermocrates and ἀνδρεία, both in his own rhetoric and in Thucydides' description, suggests that Hermocrates is responsible for or emblematic of the ἀνδρεία that Thucydides himself attributes to the Syracusans in war. Although ἀνδρεία is not simply the experience of winning,²⁴¹ Hermocrates' statement here shows that ἐμπειρία is a necessary complement for ἀνδρεία. Furthermore, as Thucydides subtly prepares for the shift from Athenian to Syracusan preeminence, "Hermocrates criticizes Syracusan mistakes in terms that leave hope for future improvements and eventual success, a critique later indeed confirmed by events."²⁴² This indirect speech, especially since Thucydides says the man who gave it combined andreia and empeiria, enables Thucydides to revisit the link between episteme and andreia; and yet the focus this time is on the hopes for Syracuse's success rather than its failure.

2.5 The Rhetoric of Courage: Pericles and Brasidas

Besides the author in his own voice, Pericles and Brasidas account for most other uses of ἀνδρεία and derivatives. In the Funeral Oration, Pericles contrasts the meaning of ἀνδρεία at Sparta and Athens. Not only does Brasidas use Sparta's reputation for ἀνδρεία to encourage his allies, he also makes a lengthy attack on the conception of ἀνδρεία implied by irregular

²⁴⁰ T 6.72.4: "He said that if there were a few experienced generals and during the winter they prepared their hoplite forces, both giving weapons to those who had none, so that the hoplites would be as numerous as possible, and increasing the toughness in their other training, that then they would likely conquer their opponents, since they already had courage and discipline in action would be added. It would benefit both of these, the latter being trained amidst dangers, and their bravery becoming bolder in proportion to their trust in their knowledge."

²⁴¹ As Phormio argues (T 2.89.2).

²⁴² Dewald (2005) 252.

fighting. Rather than describing their own versions of ἀνδρεία directly, both Pericles and Brasidas talk about the inferior ἀνδρεία of the enemy and how it differs from the ἀνδρεία of their listeners. Pericles constructs a version of Spartan ἀνδρεία as a rhetorical straw man, while he relates Athenian ἀνδρεία to the τόλμα that they show. Similarly, Brasidas explains how his non-Greek enemies have flawed ἀνδρεία because they do not fight like Greek hoplites. And yet he encourages his allies to act with ἀνδρεία while he prefers to tell each of his Spartan soldiers to be an ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός. Although Pericles gives a funeral speech before citizen men, women, and children while Brasidas speaks as a general on military campaign, their speeches deal with some of the same themes. Both leaders reveal a general association of ἀνδρεία with Sparta, Pericles by speaking contemptuously of it and Brasidas by implying he can confirm it in allies, but these rhetorical usages also enhance our understanding of the tension over the meaning of ἀνδρεία in 5th century Greece.

Table 2.3 – Pericles and Brasidas on ἀνδρεία	
<i>Speeches of Pericles</i>	<i>Speeches of Brasidas</i>
2.39.1 – In his Funeral Oration, Pericles claims that the Spartans chase courage (ἀνδρεῖον) with toilsome training as soon as they are youths	
2.39.4 – In his Funeral Oration, Pericles claims that with their easiness of spirit and the courage (ἀνδρείας) of their character, the Athenians come to dangers no less daring than their enemies do	
2.64.2 – In his last speech, Pericles says that it is right to bear divine things with compulsion and things from the enemy courageously (ἀνδρείως)	
	4.120.3 – Brasidas says that the Skionaian's willing revolt was a sign that they would courageously (ἀνδρείως) undergo anything
	4.126.5 – Brasidas argues that flight and attack having equal reputation among the barbarians gives no test of courage (ἀνδρεῖον)

Table 2.3 (Continued)	
	4.126.6 – Brasidas argues that such a mob shows its courage (ἀνδρεῖον) with threats from a distance, if one endures its first assault
	5.9.9 – Brasidas says “Spartans, be good men; and you, allies, follow courageously” (ἀνδρεῖως)

Pericles is the only speaker in the *Histories* to attribute ἀνδρεία to the Athenians, using ἀνδρεία or derivatives a total of three times. In the Funeral Oration, he outlines not only his conception of Athenian ἀνδρεία but also explains how it differs from Spartan ἀνδρεία. First, Pericles contrasts the way the Spartans cultivate ἀνδρεία with Athenian practices:

τὴν τε γὰρ πόλιν κοινὴν παρέχομεν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε ξενηλασίαις ἀπείργομέν τινα ἢ μαθήματος ἢ θεάματος, ὃ μὴ κρυφθὲν ἂν τις τῶν πολέμιων ἰδὼν ὠφελῇ, πιστεύοντες οὐ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τὸ πλεον καὶ ἀπάταις ἢ τῷ ἀφ’ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔργα εὐψύχῳ· καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις οἱ μὲν ἐπιπόνῳ ἀσκήσει εὐθύς νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέρχονται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνειμένως διαιτώμενοι οὐδὲν ἥσσον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰσοπαλεῖς κινδύνους χωροῦμεν.²⁴³

Hornblower takes issue with this depiction of the Athenians as doing no training, since Pericles himself mentions the long practice required for naval warfare (1.142) and some form of *ephebeia* may have existed in the fifth century.²⁴⁴ And yet it is quite clear that the Athenians and the Spartans have very different ideas about how to attain courage, since Pericles claims the Athenians naturally possess what the Spartans strive for all their lives. In fact, Bassi shows that Pericles’ argument reveals how different *poleis* have their own competing conceptions of ἀνδρεία, just as 3.82 shows that different factions have their own competing versions of ἀνδρεία.²⁴⁵

²⁴³ T 2.39.1: “We have an open city and never shut anyone out with decrees barring foreigners from learning or watching something that some enemy might benefit from if it is not hidden, since we trust do not trust in preparation and tricks more than bravery for action from ourselves. In education, they chase courage with toilsome practice from early youth, but we lead relaxed lives and come to equal dangers no worse.”

²⁴⁴ Hornblower 1 303-304.

²⁴⁵ Bassi (2003) 47-49.

Later, Pericles explicitly mentions the ἀνδρεία of character that the Athenians possess, and his proof is the τόλμα that they show in action. Thus, Pericles argues from results that the Athenians are in no way inferior to the Spartans.²⁴⁶

καίτοι εἰ ῥαθυμία μᾶλλον ἢ πόνων μελέτη καὶ μὴ μετὰ νόμων τὸ πλεον ἢ τρόπων ἀνδρείας ἐθέλομεν κινδυνεύειν, περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν τοῖς τε μέλλουσιν ἀλγεινοῖς μὴ προκάμνειν, καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ ἐλθοῦσι μὴ ἀτολμοτέρους τῶν αἰεὶ μοχθούντων φαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἔν τε τούτοις τὴν πόλιν ἀξίαν εἶναι θαυμάζεσθαι καὶ ἔτι ἐν ἄλλοις.²⁴⁷

By this argument, ἀνδρεία is a kind of natural courage stemming from the Athenians' τρόποι ('habits' or 'character').²⁴⁸ Pericles does not offer a satisfactory explanation of how Athenian character is formed, but instead emphasizes how they have a courageous character coupled with an easy lifestyle.²⁴⁹ He simply claims that Athens is amazing because the Athenians show no less daring than their enemies, who train and toil constantly (ἀτολμοτέρους). The implication of Pericles' argument here is that the ἀνδρεία in Athenian character is beneficial insofar as it enables them to show τόλμα amidst danger. Thus, even when praising his countrymen's ἀνδρεία, Pericles still concentrates on the beneficial effects of τόλμα. Pericles' claim that the Athenians have ἀνδρεία because they often show τόλμα comes dangerously close to the mistaken beliefs that Thucydides attributes to partisans in *stasis* (3.82), and the juxtaposition of Pericles' speech with the plague, which is the first time Thucydides shows the negative effects of

²⁴⁶ Rusten (1990) 149.

²⁴⁷ T 2.39.4: "And yet if with habits not of labor but of ease, and courage not of art but of character, we are still willing to encounter danger, we have the double advantage of escaping the experience of hardships in anticipation and of facing them in the hour of need with no less daring than those who are never free from them. In these things and still others, our city is worthy of admiration." (adapted from Crawley's translation).

²⁴⁸ Balot (2001) 512-513.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

τόλμα,²⁵⁰ casts doubt on the definition of ἀνδρεία that Pericles advances. Compared to Thucydides' own conception of ἀνδρεία, Pericles is attempting a radical redefinition, and so his Athenian ἀνδρεία turns out to be a rhetorical phantom.

When Pericles speaks again after the plague has stricken Athens, he makes a more traditional appeal to the Athenians' courage: φέρειν δὲ χρὴ τά τε δαιμόνια ἀναγκαίως τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρείως· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν ἔθει τῇδε τῇ πόλει πρότερόν τε ἦν νῦν τε μὴ ἐν ὑμῖν κωλυθῇ.²⁵¹ This statement points to a more limited definition for ἀνδρεία as 'courage in war,' and Pericles even specifies that this is closer to how the Athenians of the past viewed ἀνδρεία. And yet the context of this sentence does not prove that Pericles has refined his conception of ἀνδρεία; rather, it shows that he is using every rhetorical tool at his disposal to improve public opinion.

Like Pericles, Brasidas also uses exhortations to act courageously, but the two men speak at very different occasions. Furthermore, Brasidas directs his appeals to ἀνδρεία at his allies rather than his own countrymen. In fact, Brasidas twice uses the Spartans' reputation for ἀνδρεία in rhetoric designed to confirm the spirits of his allies. In the first, Brasidas makes it clear that he too sees a relationship between ἀνδρεία and τόλμα:

πραιωθεῖς δὲ καὶ ξύλλογον ποιήσας τῶν Σκιωναίων ἔλεγεν ἃ τε ἐν τῇ Ἀκάνθῳ καὶ Τορώνῃ, καὶ προσέτι φάσκων ἀξιωτάτους αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἐπαίνου, οἷτινες τῆς Παλλήνης ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ ἀπειλημμένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων Ποτειδαίαν ἔχόντων καὶ ὄντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ νησιῶται αὐτεπάγγελτοι ἐχώρησαν πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἀτολμία ἀνάγκην σφίσι προσγενέσθαι περὶ τοῦ

²⁵⁰ See section 3.2 for more on τόλμα and the plague.

²⁵¹ T 2.64.2: "We should bear supernatural occurrences with reservation and the actions of the enemy with courage; for that is how it was customarily in this city before, and it should not be hindered by you."

φανερῶς οἰκείου ἀγαθοῦ· σημείον τ' εἶναι τοῦ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἂν αὐτοὺς τῶν μεγίστων ἀνδρείως ὑπομεῖναι.²⁵²

Just like Pericles, Brasidas here uses his listeners' actions to make a point about their character. Since they boldly revolted, they must be courageous. And yet the strategic situation to which Brasidas alludes suggests that the Scionaeans' actions are more bold than brave.

The general mindset of a soldier with good morale appears in another one of Brasidas' exhortations about ἀνδρεία. Before his last battle at Amphipolis, Brasidas orders his Spartan troops to be "good men" while telling his allies to follow courageously:

καὶ αὐτός τε ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίγνου, ὥσπερ σε εἰκὸς ὄντα Σπαρτιάτην, καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες ξύμμαχοι, ἀκολουθήσατε ἀνδρείως, καὶ νομίσατε <τρία> εἶναι τοῦ καλῶς πολεμεῖν τὸ ἐθέλειν καὶ τὸ αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ <τὸ> τοῖς ἄρχουσι πείθεσθαι.²⁵³

The exhortation to be a good man seems to be typical at Sparta,²⁵⁴ but the separate address to the allies makes ἀνδρεία seem like a lesser virtue, especially since he tells them to *follow* courageously. At the same time, the three infinitives that make up fighting well (καλῶς πολεμεῖν) show how a soldier with high morale reacts in battle: with readiness to act (ἐθέλειν), a sense of honor (αἰσχύνεσθαι), and obedience to his superiors (τοῖς ἄρχουσι πείθεσθαι). The emphasis on obedience and a sense of shame is typically

²⁵² T 4.120.3: "His passage effected, he called a meeting of the Scionaeans and spoke to the same effect as at Acanthus and Torone, adding that they merited the utmost commendation in that, in spite of Pallene within the isthmus being cut off by the Athenian occupation of Potidaea and of their own practically insular position, they had of their own free will gone forward to meet their liberty instead of timorously waiting until they had been by force compelled to their own manifest good. This was a sign that they would courageously undergo any trial, however great" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

²⁵³ T 5.9.9: "Each of you be a good man yourself, just as befits you as a Spartiate; and you, allies, follow courageously, and consider fighting well to be three things: willingness, a sense of shame, and obeying the officers."

²⁵⁴ Hornblower 2 444 compares Tyrtaeus 10.2 (West).

Spartan,²⁵⁵ but good discipline is important for a soldier of any nationality or time period.²⁵⁶ Furthermore, Balot shows that Pericles also relates a sense of shame to the proper development of Athenian character.²⁵⁷ Brasidas, however, draws a clear distinction between the Peloponnesians under his command and the Athenians and allies on the other side at the beginning of this speech:

Ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι, ἀπὸ μὲν οἴας χώρας ἤκομεν, ὅτι αἰεὶ διὰ τὸ εὐψυχὸν ἐλευθέρας, καὶ ὅτι Δωριῆς μέλλετε ἴωσι μάχεσθαι, ὧν εἰώθατε κρείσσους εἶναι, ἀρκείτω βραχέως δεδηλωμένον.²⁵⁸

This contrast of Dorians and Ionians appears elsewhere in Thucydides,²⁵⁹ but Pericles also relates bravery to freedom in his Funeral Oration.²⁶⁰ Thus, even when emphatically distinguishing himself and his men from the Athenians, Brasidas uses rhetoric that recalls the speeches of Pericles.

The advance of Brasidas and his expedition against non-Greek forces gives Thucydides the chance to delve further into the relationship between courage and ethnicity while comparing the tactics of a hoplite army and light-armed troops. This account of Brasidas and his Peloponnesian soldiers facing the Illyrians contains an explicit evaluation of the manliness of different fighting

²⁵⁵ Compare Herodotus 9.71.3, where the Spartans decline to give the prize for valor at Plataea to Aristodemus because he left his post and rushed the enemy.

²⁵⁶ See, for instance, the chapter on discipline in Moran (1987), who wrote about his experience in the First World War.

²⁵⁷ Balot (2001) 514-515.

²⁵⁸ T 5.9.1: "Peloponnesians, the character of the country from which we have come, one which has always owed its freedom to bravery, and the fact that you are Dorians and the enemy you are about to fight Ionians, whom you are accustomed to beat, are things that do not need further comment" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

²⁵⁹ For the sentiment that Dorians are braver than Ionians, Hornblower 2 443 compares T 8.25.3, where the Dorian Argives look down on the Ionian Milesians; Thucydides himself, however, explicitly notes at 8.25.5 that this was one battle where the Ionians on both sides beat the Dorians.

²⁶⁰ T 2.43.4; see also Balot (2001) 511.

styles. Although the warlike Illyrians terrify their non-Greek allies, Brasidas and his men keep their cool:

καὶ ἐν τούτῳ διαφερομένων αὐτῶν ἡγγέλθη ὅτι οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ μετ' Ἀρραβαίου προδόντες Περδίκκαν γεγέννηται· ὥστε ἤδη ἀμφοτέροις μὲν δοκοῦν ἀναχωρεῖν διὰ τὸ δέος αὐτῶν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων μαχίμων, κυρωθὲν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐκ τῆς διαφορᾶς ὀπηνίκα χρὴ ὀρμᾶσθαι, νυκτός τε ἐπιγενομένης, οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες καὶ τὸ πλήθος τῶν βαρβάρων εὐθύς φοβηθέντες.²⁶¹

Rather than attributing ἀνδρεία to non-Greeks like Herodotus does, Thucydides typically calls other ethnicities who perform well in battle μάχιμοι, or warlike. Another example is the Aetolians, who are also described as light armed and living in unwallled villages.²⁶² Demosthenes leads a hoplite force made up of the best men (βέλτιστοι) from Athens against them and suffers a great defeat. The contrast between the βέλτιστοι Athenians and their μάχιμοι enemies shows that ἀνδρεία has no place in this kind of irregular combat in a wooded area. V. D. Hanson argues that the application of βέλτιστοι to these Athenians shows “the aristocratic Thucydides, like Plato later, particularly abhorred this type of combat, when good infantry found no conventional theater to showcase their training and bravery.”²⁶³

The speech of Brasidas before facing the Illyrians assumes that his troops share this same preference for hoplite battle. In fact, Brasidas defines and then dismisses the supposed ἀνδρεία of the light troops they face. In his

²⁶¹ T 4.125.1: “And while they were quarreling at this time, it was announced that the Illyrians had betrayed Perdikkas and gone over the Arrabaeus. So, as a result, both sides decided they should retreat because of their fear of these warlike men; but, when no decision was made on where to go, and since night had come, the Macedonians and many of the barbarians straightaway took fright.”

²⁶² T 3.94.4: τὸ γὰρ ἔθνος μέγα μὲν εἶναι τὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν καὶ μάχιμον, οἰκοῦν δὲ κατὰ κώμας ἀτειχίστους, καὶ ταύτας διὰ πολλοῦ, καὶ σκευῇ ψιλῇ χρώμενον οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀπέφαινον, πρὶν ξυμβοηθῆσαι, καταστραφῆναι. “The race of the Aetolians is great and warlike, and they dwell in unwallled villages across a large area. Since they use light equipment, they appear easy to subdue before they join together.”

²⁶³ Hanson (2005) 98.

pre-battle exhortation, Brasidas dwells at length on the implication of both sides' tactics:

οὔτε γὰρ τάξιν ἔχοντες αἰσχυνθεῖεν ἂν λιπεῖν τινὰ χώραν βιαζόμενοι ἢ τε φυγὴ καὶ ἡ ἔφοδος αὐτῶν ἴσην ἔχουσα δόξαν τοῦ καλοῦ ἀνεξέλεγκτον καὶ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον ἔχει (αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ μάχῃ μάλιστ' ἂν καὶ πρόφασιν τοῦ σώζεσθαι τινὶ πρεπόντως πορίσειε), τοῦ τε ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν πιστότερον τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἀκινδύνως ἡγούνται· ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἂν πρὸ τούτου ἐχρῶντο. σαφῶς τε πᾶν τὸ προϋπάρχον δεινὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁρᾶτε ἔργῳ μὲν βραχὺ ὄν, ὅψει δὲ καὶ ἀκοῇ κατασπέρχον. ὁ ὑπομείναντες ἐπιφερόμενον καί, ὅταν καιρὸς ᾖ, κόσμῳ καὶ τάξει αὐθις ὑπαγαγόντες, ἐς τε τὸ ἀσφαλὲς θᾶσσον ἀφίζεσθε καὶ γνώσεσθε τὸ λοιπὸν ὅτι οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὄχλοι τοῖς μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον δεξαμένοις ἄπωθεν ἀπειλαῖς τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μελλήσει ἐπικομποῦσιν, οἳ δ' ἂν εἴξωσιν αὐτοῖς, κατὰ πόδας τὸ εὐψυχον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ὁξεῖς ἐνδείκνυνται.²⁶⁴

In this battle, the Illyrians' reputation as μάχιμοι is functionally identical to the Spartans' reputation for andreia at Mantinea, since both groups scare their opponents into retreating before battle is fully joined. And yet, their tactics are very different, leading Thucydides to call one group courageous and the other μάχιμοι. The similarity between Thucydides' comments on the battle in Aetolia and the arguments of Brasidas here imply that Thucydides generally agrees with this speech.

J. E. Lendon argues that this type of irregular fighting was not appealing to the Greeks because it did not properly test the excellence of a warrior; instead, they preferred the phalanx, which allowed for a fair test of what

²⁶⁴ T 4.125.5-6: "Having no order, they are not ashamed to leave a spot under pressure, and retreat and attack having equal reputation for nobility also causes their courage to be untested, since fighting where everyone commands himself most of all provides an excuse for someone to save himself honorably. And they believe that scaring you without danger is a surer bet than coming to blows, or else they would have tried it already. See clearly that everything fearsome from them that exists beforehand is actually trifling and urgent only to the eyes and ears. By enduring this when it comes on and, when the time is right, withdrawing again in orderly ranks, you will more quickly reach safety and know for the future that such mobs, when you endure their first assault, boast of their courage to come with threats from afar. But if you yield to them, they are quick to show their spirit on foot without risk."

Lendon terms “passive courage,” basically the soldier’s ability to stay in his place in the battle line.²⁶⁵ Lendon claims that hoplite battle became predominant because of the unique appeal it had to the Greek competitive ethos.²⁶⁶ He believes that Greeks viewed the phalanx as more fair than other types of battle and so preferred it as a means to settle military disputes on even terms. Hanson links hoplite warfare with the agrarian social context of the ancient Greek polis, since the Greeks associated societies based in mountainous areas, like Crete or Aetolia, with ambushes and missile attacks, while the small valleys and enclaves tucked between mountains where the agrarian polis thrives are the perfect setting for hoplite warfare.²⁶⁷ This kind of warfare allowed border conflicts to be frequent but not catastrophic to Greek society as a whole, since it greatly limited the human and economic destructiveness of war; it is also linked to the political dominance of the land-owning classes, who alone could afford the panoply and held full voting rights.²⁶⁸

Brasidas’ speech also has implications for the relationship between ἀνδρεία and knowledge or experience, and the battle’s outcome validates Brasidas’ claims. Although Brasidas combines his “instruction” with repeated appeals to his Lacedaemonian audience’s “native virtue,” the speech still clearly shows the importance of ἐπιστήμη and ἐμπειρία to the different formulations of ἀνδρεία just discussed.²⁶⁹ Brasidas cannot give his troops experience fighting light-armed opponents, but the knowledge he imparts can

²⁶⁵ Lendon (2005) 53.

²⁶⁶ Lendon (2005) 52-57.

²⁶⁷ Hanson (2000) 208-209.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 219.

²⁶⁹ Instruction: διδασχὴ ἀληθῆς (T 4.126.4); native virtue: οἰκείαν ἀρετήν (4.126.2).

seemingly replace it.²⁷⁰ Brasidas' claim that he will teach his troops not to fear their opponents is especially relevant:

βαρβάρους δὲ οὐκ νῦν ἀπειρία δέδιτε μαθεῖν χρή, ἐξ ὧν τε προηγώνισθε τοῖς Μακεδόσιν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἐγὼ εἰκάζω τε καὶ ἄλλων ἀκοῇ ἐπίσταμαι, οὐ δεινούς ἐσομένους.²⁷¹

Brasidas links his men's fear to their ἀπειρία, but he aims to relieve them of their fear with his ἐπιστήμη. Although Brasidas only knows about their opponents true strength from report (ἀκοῇ), typically a less than perfect method of inquiry in Thucydides' eyes,²⁷² the barbarians do turn out to be less fearsome than they appear.²⁷³ In fact, Brasidas explicitly says that the enemy is scary only in sound and appearance:

οὔτε γὰρ τάξιν ἔχοντες αἰσχυνθεῖν ἂν λιπεῖν τινὰ χώραν βιαζόμενοι ἢ τε φυγὴ καὶ ἢ ἔφοδος αὐτῶν ἴσην ἔχουσα δόξαν τοῦ καλοῦ ἀνεξέλεγκτον καὶ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον ἔχει (αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ μάχη μάλιστα ἂν καὶ πρόφασιν τοῦ σῶζεσθαι τινι πρεπόντως πορίσειε), τοῦ τε ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν πιστότερον τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἀκινδύνως ἡγούνται· ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἂν πρὸ τούτου ἐχρῶντο. σαφῶς τε πᾶν τὸ προϋπάρχον δεινὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁράτε ἔργῳ μὲν βραχὺ ὄν, ὅψει δὲ καὶ ἀκοῇ κατασπέρχον. ὁ ὑπομείναντες ἐπιφερόμενον καί, ὅταν καιρὸς ᾗ, κόσμῳ καὶ τάξει αὐθις ὑπαγαγόντες, ἐς τε τὸ ἀσφαλὲς θᾶσσον ἀφίζεσθε καὶ γνῶσεσθε τὸ λοιπὸν ὅτι οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὄχλοι τοῖς μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον δεξαμένοις ἄπωθεν ἀπειλαῖς τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μελλήσει ἐπικομποῦσιν, οἳ δ' ἂν εἴξωσιν αὐτοῖς, κατὰ πόδας τὸ εὐψυχον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ὀξεῖς ἐνδείκνυνται.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁰ Hunter (1973) 24-25.

²⁷¹ T 4.126.3: "Inexperience now makes you afraid of barbarians; and yet the trial of strength which you had with the Macedonians among them, and my own judgment, confirmed by what I hear from others, should be enough to satisfy you that they will not prove formidable" (tr. Crawley).

²⁷² Compare Thucydides' dismissal of accepting ἀκοῇ at 1.20.1 when he first addresses the mistaken beliefs about Harmodius and Aristogiton.

²⁷³ Hornblower 2 400, 401.

²⁷⁴ T 4.126.5: "Having no order, they are not ashamed to leave a spot under pressure, and retreat and attack having equal reputation for nobility also causes their courage to be untested, since fighting where everyone commands himself most of all provides an excuse for someone to save himself honorably. And they believe that scaring you without danger is a surer bet than coming to blows, or else they would have tried it already. See clearly that everything fearsome from them that exists beforehand is actually trifling and urgent only to the eyes and ears. By enduring this when it comes on and, when the time is right, withdrawing

Again, fear is linked with inexperience, but Brasidas' main point is that the tactics of their light-armed opponents cannot compare to the hoplite phalanx. Indeed, Brasidas highlights the totally different conceptions of ἀνδρεία that the two sides in this battle hold. The non-Greeks' lack of a fixed order prevents battle from acting as a symmetrical test of courage like the hoplite phalanx does.²⁷⁵ Therefore, Brasidas denies that the enemy will show courage against the Lacedaemonians. Despite his army not being composed of full Spartiates, Brasidas exhorts his troops with the rhetoric of native courage and hoplite valor that must have been very effective at Sparta. The notable element, however, is the emphasis Brasidas also places on knowledge.

Pericles and Brasidas relate ἀνδρεία to many of the same themes, although the two men have much different relationships with their listeners, since Pericles is speaking in the assembly or at a public funeral and Brasidas is addressing soldiers before battle. Nevertheless, both Pericles and Brasidas claim that their listeners possess ἀνδρεία because they show τόλμα (2.39, 4.120), and both leaders argue that courage is related to knowledge (2.40, 4.125).²⁷⁶ And yet Brasidas is not representative of the typical Spartan; he is, rather, the most exception Spartan leader.²⁷⁷ In general, Thucydides seems to

again in orderly ranks, you will more quickly reach safety and know for the future that such mobs, when you endure their first assault, boast of their courage to come with threats from afar. But if you yield to them, they are quick to show their spirit on foot without risk."

²⁷⁵ Lendon (2004) 53.

²⁷⁶ See Balot (2001) 506 for more on courage and knowledge in the Funeral Oration. He argues that Pericles advances a new democratic conception of courage, since Pericles' "emphasis on intellectual insight adds something new to the traditional notion of courage, but he combines the intellect with character rather than making courage equivalent to knowledge." Although Balot talks about the English concept 'courage' and does not relate it to ἀνδρεία in the Funeral Oration, the passages of Plato which he claims also reflect this notion of democratic courage do use the term ἀνδρεία.

²⁷⁷ Westlake (1968) 148.

think ἀνδρεία is more typical of the Spartans and τόλμα more typical of the Athenians, but the most dynamic leaders embody both qualities.

2.6 Conclusion

Unlike other authors, Thucydides restricts ἀνδρεία to a very specific context and meaning, since he links ἀνδρεία with war and especially the hoplite soldiers of a fully developed and functional polis. Thucydides differs from Sophocles and Herodotus by not applying ἀνδρεία to women and non-Greeks, even though his *Histories* include accounts of fearsome barbarians and valiant women. Thucydides' account of *stasis* shows that it is a mistake to confuse ἀνδρεία with τόλμα, since this leads to radicalized and extreme behavior. At the same time, Thucydides' semantic analysis alerts the reader to expect different cities and leaders to have different formulations of ἀνδρεία.²⁷⁸ Although Thucydides himself attributes ἀνδρεία to the Spartans but never the Athenians, Brasidas is the only Spartan who attempts to instill their ἀνδρεία in others. The Syracusans also show ἀνδρεία, but they do so even before the arrival of Gylippus from Sparta. Thus, it is questionable whether or not a leader or an ally can instill ἀνδρεία. Ultimately, Thucydides shows how he believes ἀνδρεία must be coupled with knowledge by exploring the role of ἀνδρεία in Syracusan morale and how the guidance of Hermocrates affected his countrymen's morale (6.69, 6.72).

Thucydides' other authorial statements on ἀνδρεία deal with the relationship between courage and experience or knowledge. When he describes the battle of Mantinea, Thucydides shows that ἀνδρεία can bring

²⁷⁸ Bassi (2005)

success, at least to the Lacedaemonians, even when ἐμπειρία fails. Yet at the Anapus River, Syracusan ἀνδρεία cannot make up for a lack of ἐπιστήμη. Finally, Thucydides' judgment of Hermocrates shows that one leader with ἀνδρεία and ἐμπειρία can help his people overcome their deficiency in knowledge, showing that a city ideally wages war with a combination of courage and skill. If he had completed his work, Thucydides might also have shown how the Lacedaemonians were able to add ἐμπειρία to their ἀνδρεία.

CHAPTER 3

MORALE AND VALUES: *TOLMA*

3.1 Introduction

Scholars have recently emphasized the importance of τόλμα in Thucydides' analysis of social psychology during the Peloponnesian War.²⁷⁹ Although many of them have noted that this generally positive trait appears as a negative quality in certain passages, especially 3.82.4, no one has yet fully explored the thematic significance of Thucydides' deployment of this term. Of the mental qualities key to success in battle, τόλμα may be the most ambivalent. The other concepts discussed in this thesis are clearly beneficial or harmful in war, but τόλμα can be helpful or damaging depending on the situation. Unlike ἀνδρεία, which is always a positive quality and cannot be overabundant, τόλμα can change from a virtue to a vice when it leads to radical behavior. Although Thucydides repeatedly emphasizes how a lack of τόλμα hindered the Peloponnesians, the elevation of τόλμα to the chief virtue during *stasis* is more destructive than any external threat. This chapter will examine how τόλμα characterizes the Athenians, how important a role it plays in *stasis*, and how it affects the campaign in Sicily.

Unlike some of the other terms in this study, τόλμα had a well established meaning by the end of the fifth century that Thucydides did not significantly expand or change. Instead, Thucydides' deployment of words with the *tolm-* root is notable because he develops it as such an important

²⁷⁹ Allison (1997a) 33, 54, 168-172, 182-186; Bassi (2003) 27-32; Luginbill (1999) 87-96, 173-184; Meyer (2008) 19-26.

theme in his work. The word refers to “the action of taking it upon oneself to do something” or “daring,” so “courage, boldness” in a positive context or “audacity, impulsiveness” in a negative context.²⁸⁰ The verb *τολμάω* first occurs in Homer, and from the beginning it can have a positive or negative connotation.²⁸¹ The noun *τόλμα* is post-Homeric, first appearing in Pindar with the meaning of daring or courage,²⁸² and then appearing in tragedy and comedy with the additional meanings of boldness and act of boldness, sometimes with a negative connotation.²⁸³ Pierre Huart concludes that Thucydides uses words in the *τόλμα* family to refer to “la confiance et la hardiesse” or “l’audace,” depending on whether the usage has a positive or negative connotation.²⁸⁴

In Thucydides, the abstract noun *τόλμα* occurs seventeen times, the concrete noun *τόλμημα* occurs three times, the substantive *τολμητής* occurs once, the adjective *τολμηρός* occurs six times, the adverb *τολμηρῶς* appears twice, and the verb *τολμάω* occurs thirty times.²⁸⁵ In addition, the compound verb *ἀντιτολμάω* occurs twice, and the compound verb *ἀποτολμάω* occurs a single time.²⁸⁶ Thucydides uses this word group to

²⁸⁰ Chantraine (1999) s.v. *τόλμη*.

²⁸¹ LSJ, s.v. *τολμάω*.

²⁸² Slater (1969), s.v. *τόλμα*; the lack of any negative connotations in Pindar could have more to do with his genre than his conception of the word.

²⁸³ LSJ, s.v. *τόλμα*.

²⁸⁴ Huart (1968) 431.

²⁸⁵ Huart (1968) 431-436; *τόλμα*: 1.90.1, 1.144.4, 2.41.4, 2.62.5, 2.87.4, 2.89.5, 3.45.4, 3.82.4, 5.7.2, 5.10.6, 6.31.6, 6.33.4, 6.36.1, 6.59.1, 6.68.2, 6.69.1, 7.28.3; *τόλμημα*: 2.25.2, 6.54.1, 7.43.6; *τολμητής*: 1.70.3; *τολμηρός*: 1.74.2, 1.102.3, 2.87.5, 4.126.4, 7.21.3, 8.96.4; *τολμηρῶς*: 3.74.1, 3.83.3; *τολμάω*: 1.32.5, 1.74.4, 1.91.5, 1.93.4, 1.124.1, 2.40.3, 2.43.1, 2.53.1, 2.83.3, 2.93.3, 3.22.6, 3.36.2, 3.56.5, 3.79.2, 3.82.6, 3.82.8, 4.28.2, 4.68.6, 4.73.4, 4.98.6, 4.123.2, 5.76.3, 5.107.1, 6.34.8, 6.34.9, 6.40.1, 6.56.2, 6.82.4, 6.86.4, 7.21.4, 7.59.3, 8.24.5, 8.96.3; *ἀντιτολμάω*: 2.89.6, 7.21.3; *ἀποτολμάω*: 7.67.1.

²⁸⁶ Huart (1968) 432-433.

indicate an individual or group's willingness to take risks.²⁸⁷ In Thucydides, τόλμα is noteworthy not only because it refers to a lack of fear in its possessor but also because it causes fear in others.²⁸⁸ And yet tracing Thucydides' careful deployment of the positive and negative connotations of this word group shows that this quality often becomes more harmful to the city that possesses it than to its enemies.

3.2 Τόλμα, Pericles, and the legacy of the Persian Wars

From very early in the Histories, τόλμα is associated especially with the Athenians. In speeches during the first meeting at Lacedaemon, both the Corinthians and the Athenians themselves link τόλμα with the Athenians. The Athenians claim τόλμα as their particular virtue, based especially on their evacuation of the city during the Persian Wars, and Pericles attributes Athens' greatness to this τόλμα. When the Corinthians explain the great difference in Spartan and Athenian character, they use the rare word τολμητής to describe the Athenians: αὐθις δὲ οἱ μὲν καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν τολμηταὶ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνευταὶ καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐέλπιδες.²⁸⁹ This speech is one of the few statements by a speaker that clearly corresponds to Thucydides' views, and this positive portrayal of Athenian temperament gains credibility because it is spoken by their enemies.²⁹⁰ See Table 3.1, on the next page, for a catalogue of instances of τόλμα related to Athens and the Persian Wars.

²⁸⁷ Luginbill (1999) 89. See also Sluiter and Rosen (2003) 8-9, where they explain that one of the necessary elements of "courage" is facing danger. Τόλμα fulfils this requirement but lacks the exclusively positive connotations that Sluiter and Rosen explain is also an element of courage.

²⁸⁸ Luginbill (1999) 90.

²⁸⁹ T 1.70.3: "Furthermore, they are daring beyond their power, risk-takers against their judgment, and hopeful amidst dangers."

²⁹⁰ Hornblower 1 114.

The early exploration of Athenian and Spartan character helps establish the paradigmatic contrasts between the two major powers in the Peloponnesian War,²⁹¹ and nearly every usage of τόλμα early in Thucydides' work is positive. The notable exception is the appearance of negative τόλμα in the account of the Plague, allowing Thucydides to question Pericles' glowing praise of this psychological quality.

Table 3.1 – Pericles, Athenian τόλμα, and the legacy of the Persian Wars	
<i>direct speech or paraphrase of Athenians</i>	<i>non-Athenian or authorial statements</i>
	1.70.3 – the Corinthians tell the Lacedaemonians that the Athenians are daring beyond their power, venturesome beyond their judgment, and sanguine amidst dangers (τολμηταί)
1.74.2 – the Athenian speaker argues that his city showed by far the most daring patriotism against the Persians (τολμηροτάτην)	
1.74.4 – the Athenian speaker argues that Athens' refusal to give in to Persia and daring to embark on the ships allowed Greece to resist the invasion (ἐτόλμήσαμεν)	
	1.90.1 – the Lacedaemonians' allies feared the size of the Athenian navy and the daring they had shown against Persia (τόλμαν)
1.91.5 – Themistocles argues that the Athenians decided to show daring and take to the sea alone, and so will make their own decisions (τολμήσαι)	
	1.93.4 – Themistocles was the first who dared to tell the Athenians that they must stick to the sea, and he laid the foundations for the empire (ἐτόλμησεν)
	1.102.3 – fearing the Athenians' boldness and revolutionary spirit, the Lacedaemonians dismissed them alone of the allies (τολμηρόν)
1.144.4 – Pericles says that the previous generation drove out the Persians with resolution greater than fortune and more daring than power (τόλμη)	
2.39.4 – Pericles claims that Athens is amazing because the Athenians show no less daring than their enemies, who train and toil constantly (ἀτολμοτέρους)	

²⁹¹ Hornblower 1 108; Rood (1998) 43-45.

Table 3.1 (Continued)	
2.40.3 – Pericles argues that the Athenians are unique in combining daring with calculation (τολμᾶν)	
2.41.4 – Pericles says the Athenians have compelled all land and sea to become a path for their daring (τόλμη)	
2.43.1 – Pericles urges the survivors to pray for more safety than the fallen but to believe that they should have no less daring an intent against the enemy (ἀτολμοτέραν)	
2.43.1 – Pericles exhorts the Athenians to become lovers of the city and to recognize that its greatness comes from men daring, knowing what is necessary, and having a sense of propriety (τολμῶντες)	
	2.53.1 – the plague was the beginning of a great deal of lawlessness for the city in other respects, since a man more easily dares his secret desires when he sees sudden changes in fortune and death all around (ἐτόλμα)
2.62.5 – Pericles argues that knowledge of their own superiority should fortify the Athenians' daring (τόλμαν)	
	2.83.3 – the Corinthian fleet did not believe the Athenians would dare to fight against greater than 2-to-1 odds (τολμῆσαι)
2.89.7 – Phormio argues that armies are sometimes defeated by lesser opponents because of inexperience or lack of daring, but the Athenians suffer from neither (ἀτολμίᾳ)	
3.45.4 – Diodotus argues that poverty will always breed daring by necessity (τόλμαν)	
	3.56.4 – the Plataeans argue that those who dared the noblest things against the Persians are more praiseworthy (τολμᾶν)

In their speech in the first conference at Sparta, the Athenians appeal to their actions against Persia on behalf of Greece, and the Athenian *apologia* reinforces the Corinthians' characterization. They claim in particular that they showed προθυμία with the most τόλμα: προθυμίαν δὲ καὶ πολὺ τολμηροτάτην ἐδείξαμεν.²⁹² Although all the Greeks who resisted the

²⁹² T 1.74.2: "We showed by far the most daring patriotism."

Persians exhibited προθυμία,²⁹³ τόλμα is specifically Athenian because they abandoned Athens to the invading Persians and staked it all on the battle of Salamis. Luginbill argues that this accurately portrays the Athenians, since the Athenian speech confirms and expands the Corinthians characterization of Athenians as τολμηταί.²⁹⁴ In fact, this set of speeches establishes the dichotomy of Spartan and Athenian character, which Thucydides maintains and refines throughout the rest of the *Histories*.²⁹⁵

Near the end of the work, Thucydides expresses the same sentiment in his own voice, when he discusses a missed opportunity to assault Piraeus. This occasion also allows Thucydides to note how possessing τόλμα made the Syracusans much better against the Athenians than the Lacedaemonians were.²⁹⁶ Yet again, a lack of τόλμα robs the Peloponnesian fleet of an easy victory, and their fleet actually had the experience to have capitalized on the Athenians' weak position at this point in the war:

μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ δι' ἐγγυτάτου ἐθορύβει, εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι
τολμήσουσι νενικηκότες εὐθὺ σφῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἐρῆμον ὄντα
νεῶν πλεῖν· καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη ἐνόμιζον αὐτοὺς παρεῖναι. ὅπερ ἂν,
εἰ τολμηρότεροι ἦσαν, ῥαδίως ἂν ἐποίησαν, καὶ ἡ διέστησαν ἂν ἔτι
μᾶλλον τὴν πόλιν ἐφορμοῦντες ἢ, εἰ ἐπολιόρκουν μένοντες, καὶ
τὰς ἀπ' Ἰωνίας ναῦς ἠνάγκασαν ἂν καίπερ πολεμίας οὔσας τῇ
ὀλιγαρχίᾳ τοῖς σφετέροις οἰκείοις καὶ τῇ ξυμπάσῃ πόλει βοηθῆσαι·
καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Ἑλλήσποντός τε ἂν ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰωνία καὶ αἱ νῆσοι
καὶ τὰ μέχρι Εὐβοίας καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχὴ πᾶσα. ἀλλ'
οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀθηναίοις πάντων δὴ
ξυμφορώτατοι προσπολεμῆσαι ἐγένοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις
πολλοῖς· διάφοροι γὰρ πλείστον ὄντες τὸν τρόπον, οἱ μὲν ὀξεῖς, οἱ
δὲ βραδεῖς, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπιχειρηταί, οἱ δὲ ἄτολμοι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν
ἀρχῇ ναυτικῇ πλείστα ὠφέλουν. ἔδειξαν δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι·

²⁹³ See 3.65.5, where the Plataeans' also claim to have shown προθυμία against the Persians.

²⁹⁴ Luginbill (1999) 92-96.

²⁹⁵ Hornblower 1 114; Rood (1998) 43-45.

²⁹⁶ See section 2.5 for more on Syracusan τόλμα.

μάλιστα γὰρ ὁμοιότροποι γενόμενοι ἄριστα καὶ
προσεπολέμησαν.²⁹⁷

Thucydides uses the verbal form of θόρυβος to show how much distress the proximity of a hostile fleet caused to the Athenians. This passage confirms late in Thucydides' work that the author himself agrees with the basic dichotomy between the *τολμηταί* Athenians and *ἄτολμοι* Spartans that was first introduced in the Corinthians' speech.²⁹⁸

In addition to statements about Athenian *τόλμα* by Thucydides himself and non-Athenian speakers, the Athenians, particularly Pericles, argue that *τόλμα* is one of their most important qualities. In fact, *τόλμα* is a major theme of the Funeral Oration, with words from that root appearing five times in the speech.²⁹⁹ The previous chapter argued that Pericles emphasizes *tolma* over *andreia* in this speech.³⁰⁰ In addition, Virginia Hunter has noted that Pericles claims *γνώμη* and *τόλμα* are the essence of Athenian character in all three of his speeches,³⁰¹ and this is the key to understanding why Athenian *τόλμα* is

²⁹⁷ T 8.96.3-5: "Meanwhile their greatest and most immediate trouble was the possibility that the enemy, more daring because of his victory, might make straight for them and sail against Piraeus, which they had no longer ships to defend; and every moment they expected him to arrive. This, with a little more daring, he might easily have done, in which case he would either have increased the dissensions of the city by his presence, or if he had stayed to besiege it have compelled the fleet from Ionia, although the enemy of the oligarchy, to come to the rescue of their country and of their relatives, and in the meantime would have become master of the Hellespont, Ionia, the islands, and of everything as far as Euboea, or, to speak roundly, of the whole Athenian empire. But here, as on so many other occasions the Lacedaemonians proved the most convenient people in the world for the Athenians to be at war with. The wide difference between the two characters, the slowness and lack of daring of the Lacedaemonians as contrasted with the dash and enterprise of their opponents, proved of the greatest service, especially to a maritime empire like Athens. Indeed this was shown by the Syracusans, who were most like the Athenians in character, and also most successful in combating them" (modified from Crawley's translation). See Hornblower 3 1030-1031 for the importance of this type of counter-factual sentence for narratological approaches with related bibliography.

²⁹⁸ Luginbill (1999) 92-95, see also 88, 174 for more on the significance of this passage for "national character."

²⁹⁹ T 2.39.4, 2.40.3, 2.41.4, 2.43.1 (x2).

³⁰⁰ See section 2.5.

³⁰¹ Hunter (1973) 59-60, citing 1.114.4, 2.40.2-3, and 2.62.5.

nearly always positive early in the war. In the absence of a leader like Pericles, who can work against the infirmity of the People's γνώμη,³⁰² too much τόλμα leads to destructive behavior. It is precisely Pericles' γνώμη, meaning not simply his policy but his rational policy,³⁰³ and his ability to control the Athenians' passions that enables Athens to rely so much on τόλμα without becoming radicalized and immoderate.

At the same time, Thucydides' account of the plague shows that τόλμα leading to harmful and transgressive behavior already exists in Athens, although Pericles is able to ameliorate the effects of the Plague with his final speech. Since the Plague results in a general breakdown of social and moral constraints,³⁰⁴ it gives a preview of the role τόλμα will play in the subsequent breakdown of morals in *stasis*:

Πρώτον τε ἦρξε καὶ ἐς τὰλλα τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ πλεον ἀνομίας τὸ νόσημα. ῥᾶον γὰρ ἐτόλμα τις ἢ πρότερον ἀπεκρύπτετο μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν ποιεῖν, ἀγχίστροφον τὴν μεταβολὴν ὀρώντες τῶν τε εὐδαιμόνων καὶ αἰφνιδίως θνησκόντων καὶ τῶν οὐδὲν πρότερον κεκτημένων, εὐθύς δὲ τάκείνων ἐχόντων.³⁰⁵

This passage explicitly links τόλμα with ἀνομία, since an abundance of daring with no fear of consequences leads to transgressive behavior. Hornblower even compares this passage to the mood of the Corcyraean *stasis* description, based especially on the repetition of ἡδονήν.³⁰⁶

³⁰² As Pericles himself claims to do at T 2.61.2; see also 1.140.1 where Pericles claims he is always the same in γνώμη.

³⁰³ Edmunds (1975a) 8-10.

³⁰⁴ Rusten (1989) 189.

³⁰⁵ T 2.53.1: "Nor was this the only form of lawless extravagance which owed its origin to the plague. Men now coolly dared what they had formerly done in a corner, and not just as they pleased, seeing the rapid transitions produced by persons in prosperity suddenly dying and those who before had nothing succeeding to their property" (modified from Crawley's translation).

³⁰⁶ Hornblower 1 326, 486; see below, section 2.4, for more on how passions lead to unrestrained and negative τόλμα.

3.3 Τόλμα and stasis

Despite the strategic importance of Athenian τόλμα in the Archidamian War, the intimate links of τόλμα with civil discord highlight this quality's negative aspects. Thucydides' famous description of *stasis* includes what Karen Bassi calls a "negative discourse of τόλμα" that "reveals a military virtue turned into a political vice."³⁰⁷ Both in his description of the actual fighting and in his more theoretical discussions of the nature and effects of *stasis*, Thucydides makes it clear that τόλμα defines this type of conflict. See Table 2.2, below, for instances of τόλμα linked with *stasis* at Corcyra and elsewhere in Greece. During internal fighting, τόλμα is the quality that men value most highly, and Thucydides himself concedes that it is of more practical use than intelligence.³⁰⁸ Because τόλμα is so prevalent in and important to *stasis*, analysis of how τόλμα manifests during internal dissension is essential to identifying prototypical τόλμα. Moreover, the confusion of words and their referents during *stasis* enables Thucydides to delve into the lexicon of civic and martial virtues in fifth century Greek city-states.³⁰⁹

Table 3.2 – Τόλμα and <i>stasis</i>
3.74.1 – the Corcyraean women boldly joined in the factional fighting, throwing tiles from the rooftops and enduring the chaos of battle contrary to their nature (τολμηρῶς)
3.82.4 – in <i>stasis</i> , irrational daring is considered loyal courage (τόλμα)
3.82.6 – in <i>stasis</i> , men become more ready to dare to transgress the law (τολμᾶν)
3.82.8 – the cause of all the evils of <i>stasis</i> is ambition and lust for power, since men seek prizes for themselves in nominally serving the common interest; as the fight in every way to overcome one another, they dare the most terrible things and ascend to greater and greater heights of vengeance (ἐτόλμησαν)
3.83.3 – in <i>stasis</i> , men of lesser judgment usually win out, since they fear the intelligence of their enemies and more quickly take bold action (τολμηρῶς)
4.68.6 – the pro-Athenian conspirators inside Megara did not betray the city and did not show much daring earlier either (οὐδὲ...τολμήσαι)

³⁰⁷ Bassi (2003) 31 n 19.

³⁰⁸ T 3.83.3.

³⁰⁹ Bassi (2003) 32, discussing 3.82.4.

5.76.3 – after much discussion, the pro-Spartan party, who now dared to act openly, persuaded the Argives to accept a peace treaty (τολμώντες)

During Thucydides' initial account of the *stasis* at Corcyra, the women's participation in the fighting helps mark the confusion of the normal order. In fact, T. E. J. Wiedemann argues that, throughout the *Histories*, the appearance of women in anything other than a passive role highlights the non-rational features of an episode.³¹⁰ Thucydides does not associate these women with ἀνδρεία but with τόλμα:

διαλιπούσης δ' ἡμέρας μάχη αὖθις γίγνεται καὶ νικᾷ ὁ δῆμος
χωρίων τε ἰσχύι καὶ πλήθει προύχων· αἱ τε γυναῖκες αὐτοῖς
τολμηρῶς ξυνεπελάβοντο βάλλουσαι ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν τῷ κεράμῳ
καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ὑπομένουσai τὸν θόρυβον.³¹¹

The bold participation of even women shows how awry the city has gone, especially since Thucydides describes it as παρὰ φύσιν.³¹² Associating this action with ἀνδρεία would have strengthened the claim that the women acted contrary to their nature, yet Thucydides avoids this, even though women enduring the θόρυβος of battle might be described as brave. In fact, Crawley translates the phrase as “supporting the melee with a fortitude beyond their sex.” Thucydides, however, does not label them as ἀνδρεῖαι because women typically join in the fighting only against a background of social or political upheaval, and 3.82.4 shows that these are the very situations in which notions of ἀνδρεία are confounded.³¹³ Thucydides' account of the incorrect evaluation of actions in *stasis* implies that the Corcyraeans could have

³¹⁰ Wiedemann (1983) 169.

³¹¹ T 3.74.1: “Battle began again after a day passed, and the People were victorious because of the strength of their position and their advantage in numbers; and the women boldly joined them by attacking from the roofs with tile and enduring the chaos beyond their nature.”

³¹² T 3.74.2 even says the city itself was nearly destroyed by fire in the fighting.

³¹³ Loraux (1985) 18-20.

associated these women with ἀνδρεία, but Thucydides avoids the etymological pun.

Thucydides follows his description of the happenings at Corcyra with an explanation of how *stasis* generally works, showing that this passage is meant to act as a paradigm for the many instances of *stasis* that occurred across Greece as a result of the Peloponnesian War.³¹⁴ The most famous of Thucydides' pronouncements on *stasis* is his explanation of how civic and martial values are confused by men embroiled in factional conflict: καὶ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ἀξίωσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἀντήλλαξαν τῇ δικαίῳσει. τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγιστος ἀνδρεία φιλέταιρος ἐνομίσθη.³¹⁵ In other words, when a man who is involved in civil war performs an act of irrational daring, the members of his party praise him for his courage on their behalf. This is the second time that ἀνδρεία appears with τόλμα, but here τόλμα replaces ἀνδρεία.³¹⁶ The partisans in civil war still speak of ἀνδρεία, but every action they label 'courageous' is in reality motivated by an irrational impulsiveness. The position of this equivalency first shows that ἀνδρεία is the virtue most threatened by *stasis*,³¹⁷ and Thucydides relates it with τόλμα because τόλμα becomes the most valued characteristic during *stasis*. Yet the application of the clearly negative adjective ἀλόγιστος clearly shows that τόλμα, which often has a positive connotation in Thucydides, is a negative quality during *stasis*.³¹⁸ When τόλμα instead of ἀνδρεία is the most highly

³¹⁴ Hornblower 1 490.

³¹⁵ T 3.82.4: "Further, they exchanged their usual verbal evaluations of deeds for new ones, in the light of what they now thought justified; thus irrational daring was considered courage for the sake of the Party" (tr. Wilson 1982). See Allison (1997a) 168 and Bassi (2003) 28 for other recent literal translations of this sentence.

³¹⁶ The first is at 2.39.4; see section 4.5 for further discussion of that passage.

³¹⁷ Loraux (1986) 101.

³¹⁸ Bassi (2003) 31.

valued quality in a city, it is symptomatic of a more general breakdown of values within the city.

The three further mentions of τόλμα in Thucydides' paradigmatic account of stasis shows why it should not be elevated to the chief virtue.

During *stasis*, factional ties become the most important, trumping even kinship, so partisans will dare anything for their party:

καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ συγγενὲς τοῦ ἐταιρικοῦ ἀλλοτριώτερον ἐγένετο διὰ τὸ ἐτοιμότερον εἶναι ἀπροφασίστως τολμᾶν· οὐ γὰρ μετὰ τῶν κειμένων νόμων ὠφελίας αἱ τοιαῦται ξύνοδοι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοὺς καθεστῶτας πλεονεξίᾳ. αἱ τὰς ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς πίστεις οὐ τῷ θείῳ νόμῳ μᾶλλον ἐκρατύνοντο ἢ τῷ κοινῇ τι παρανομήσαι.³¹⁹

This complete breakdown of all laws and customs, reminiscent of the terrible effects of the plague on Athens, shows how destructive τόλμα can be when it goes too far. Thucydides subsequently describes how this spirals out of

control and the cycle of greater and greater τόλμα becomes self-perpetuating:

τὰ μὲν κοινὰ λόγῳ θεραπεύοντες ἄθλα ἐποιοῦντο, παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἀλλήλων περιγίγνεσθαι ἐτόλμησάν τε τὰ δεινότερα ἐπεξῆσάν τε τὰς τιμωρίας ἔτι μείζους, οὐ μέχρι τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τῇ πόλει συμφόρου προτιθέντες, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐκατέροις που αἰεὶ ἡδονὴν ἔχον ὀρίζοντες.³²⁰

Thus, the τόλμα of partisans in *stasis* is motivated by the pursuit of immediate pleasure, in much the same way that a focus on instant gratification caused lawlessness in Athens during the Plague. This subversion of the public good by the leaders of the different factions is one of the worst effects of internal

³¹⁹ T 3.82.6: "Even blood became a weaker tie than party, from the superior readiness of those united by the latter to dare everything without reserve; for such associations had not in view the blessings derivable from established institutions but were formed by ambition for their overthrow; and the confidence of their members in each other rested less on any religious sanction than upon complicity in crime" (tr. Crawley).

³²⁰ T 3.82.8: "[The leaders] sought prizes for themselves in those public interests which they pretended to cherish, and, recoiling from no means in their struggles for ascendancy, dared the most terrible things; in their acts of vengeance they went to even greater lengths, not stopping at what justice or the good of the state demanded, but limiting themselves only to what was pleasurable to each at any given moment" (modified from Crawley's translation).

conflict, and the *Oresteia* of Aeschylus, to name only one example, shows that the danger of reciprocal acts of revenge was well understood in fifth century Athens. Yet τόλμα is not only the most highly valued quality during *stasis*, it is also the most useful, enabling the less intelligent to triumph over their betters in the climate of fear and escalating violence:

καὶ οἱ φαυλότεροι γνώμην ὥς τὰ πλείω περιεγίγνοντο· τῷ γὰρ δεδιέναι τό τε αὐτῶν ἐνδεές καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ξυνετόν, μὴ λόγοις τε ἥσους ὥσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πολυτρόπου αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης φθάσωσι προεπιβουλευόμενοι, τολμηρῶς πρὸς τὰ ἔργα ἐχώρουν.³²¹

Here Thucydides explicitly differentiates the τόλμα of *stasis*, which men who lack γνώμη use for personal gain, from Periclean τόλμα, which was tightly controlled by the γνώμη of Pericles. Furthermore, the impulsive τόλμα of *stasis* also causes its possessors to act quickly (φθάσωσι) as well as without deliberation. Although speedy action without forethought is advantageous in civil war, it ultimately destroys the city. Thus, Thucydides pairs ἀνδρεία and τόλμα for two reasons. First, courage becomes rashness when it is unrestrained, and the breaking of all restraints is characteristic of *stasis*. Second, just as ἀνδρεία is the most important virtue in a properly functioning *polis*, acts of τόλμα are evaluated as the most virtuous by men under the influence of *stasis*. In Pericles' formulation, ἀνδρεία and τόλμα coexist; but in *stasis*, τόλμα replaces ἀνδρεία.

³²¹ T 3.83.3: "In this contest, those lesser in wisdom were most successful. Apprehensive of their own deficiencies and of the cleverness of their antagonists, they feared to be worsted in debate and to be surprised by the combinations of their more versatile opponents, and so at once boldly had recourse to action" (tr. Crawley).

3.4 Athenian τόλμα and the campaign in Sicily

Thucydides carefully uses the positive and negative connotations of τόλμα and related words developed earlier in the work to comment on Athenian and Syracusan morale during the war in Sicily. My analysis shows that Athenian τόλμα in Sicily is extreme and unrestrained, but Hermocrates prevents Syracusan τόλμα from becoming radical and irrational. Indeed, Hermocrates advocates showing τόλμα against the Athenians from his first appearance, but it is tempered by the precautions he suggests and the prudence of other generals. Thus, Thucydides foreshadows the failure of the expedition by associating the Athenians with excessive, negative τόλμα and the Syracusans with moderate, positive τόλμα. See Table 3.3 below for a catalogue of Athenian and Syracusan τόλμα in books six and seven of Thucydides. Two authorial observations by Thucydides show that τόλμα is one of the psychological qualities most important to the outcome of the war in Sicily. When explaining the Syracusans' loss in their first full-scale battle with the Athenians, Thucydides denies that the Syracusans were inferior in προθυμία or τόλμα in any of their battles.³²² Thucydides' later analysis of the Lacedaemonians and the Syracusans *qua* opponents of Athens shows that both sides' possession of τόλμα in Sicily greatly affected the outcome of those hostilities.³²³ In contrast to the ἄτολμοι Lacedaemonians, the Syracusans μάλιστα γὰρ ὁμοιότροποι γενόμενοι ἄριστα καὶ προσεπολέμησαν.³²⁴ This statement, Thucydides' most explicit concerning the character of the

³²² T 6.69.1.

³²³ T 8.96.4-5.

³²⁴ T 8.96.5: "Since the Syracusans were most like the Athenians in character, they also warred against them best."

Syracusans, the Lacedaemonians, and the Athenians,³²⁵ suggests that Thucydides meant τόλμα to be an important motif in his account of the Sicilian expedition.

Table 3.3 – Τόλμα in Sicily	
<i>Athenian τόλμα</i>	<i>Syracusan τόλμα</i>
6.31.6 – the expedition to Sicily was no less famous for its amazing daring and brilliant appearance than for the superiority of the armament compared to those they attacked, and because the voyage from home was so very great and it was undertaken with the greatest hope for the future compared to the present state of things (τόλμης)	
6.33.4 – Hermocrates exhorts anyone who believes the Athenians are coming not to be shocked at their daring and power (τόλμαν)	
	6.34.8 – Hermocrates argues that unexpected Syracusan daring will shock the Athenians more than their actual power (τολμήσαντας)
	6.34.9 – Hermocrates exhorts the Syracusans to listen to him and show daring (τολμήσαντες)
	6.36.1 – Athenagoras says he does not marvel at the daring of the men talking about the Athenians but rather at their stupidity, if they do not think what they are doing is obvious (τόλμης)
	6.39.2 – Athenagoras attacks his opponents as extremely unjust if they knowingly spread such falsehoods (τολμάτε)
6.54.1 – the bold deed of Harmodius and Aristogeiton came about because of an incident relating to a love affair (τόλμημα)	
6.56.3 – the conspirators thought that, if they showed daring, others would spontaneously join in freeing themselves from the tyrants (τολμήσειαν)	
6.59.1 – in this way through a lover's grief, the beginning of the plot and irrational daring came to Harmodius and Aristogeiton from great fear (τόλμα)	

³²⁵ See Luginbill (1999) 88, 174 on this passages' significance for judging "national character."

Table 3.3 (Continued)	
	6.68.2 – Nicias urges his picked troops to expect victory over the Sicilians, who may act superior but will never stand firm because they have less skill than daring (τόλμης)
	6.69.1 – the Syracusans did not fall short in zeal or daring in this fight or any other (τόλμη)
6.82.4 – Euphemus argues that the Ionians deserve to be Athenian subjects, since they joined the Persians in attacking their mother city, Athens, and did not dare to revolt and lose their homes like the Athenians did (ἐτόλμησαν)	
	6.86.4 – Euphemus slanders the Syracusans for daring to attack the power that is holding them back from hegemony over Sicily (τολμῶσιν)
7.21.3 – Hermocrates argues that against daring men like the Athenians, matching their daring with your own in most effective (τολμηρούς)	7.21.3 – Hermocrates argues that against daring men like the Athenians, matching their daring with your own in most effective (ἀντιτολμῶντας)
	7.21.4 – Hermocrates argues that Syracusan daring will counteract Athenian experience (τολμῆσαι)
7.28.3 – the other Greeks held such a mistaken assessment of Athenian power and daring that they held out not one or two or three years but already seventeen since the first Peloponnesian invasion (τόλμης)	
7.43.6 – because of the unexpected daring of the night attack by the Athenians, the Syracusans fought back in a state of panic and at first did not stand their ground (τολμήματος)	
7.59.3 – the Syracusans prepared themselves in case the Athenians dared to fight more by sea (τολμήσωσι)	
	7.67.1 – Gylippus explains to the Syracusans that they will be even mightier, since they had daring before they gained skill, and now their experience gives them double reason to expect victory (ἄπετολμήσαμεν)

During the Sicilian expedition, the Athenians maintain their great τόλμα, but the quality that had served them so well militarily against the Peloponnesians yields to outbursts of excessive τόλμα that ultimately contribute to Athens' downfall. Thucydides explicitly links τόλμα with the

sending of the expedition and Athens' continued efforts when the expedition gets into trouble, yet its negative aspects become clear in the tyrannicide digression and Demosthenes' failed assault on Epipolae. After showing how τόλμα is important in the genesis of the expedition and helps Athens withstand one of history's great military disasters, this section will argue that one of the main purposes of the tyrannicide digression is to set the stage for the later outbreak of *stasis* at Athens by showing how the Athenians are incorrectly elevating τόλμα into the chief political virtue. Thucydides clearly indicates the ambivalence of one of the Athenians' main character traits in his account of the triumphs and failures resulting from the city's greatest martial undertaking.

At two crucial moments in books six and seven, Thucydides attributes τόλμα to the Athenians. In his vivid description of the departure of the expedition, Thucydides relates τόλμα to its fame among the Greeks:

καὶ ὁ στόλος οὐχ ἦσσαν τόλμης τε θάμβει καὶ ὄψεως λαμπρότητι περιβόητος ἐγένετο ἢ στρατιᾶς πρὸς οὓς ἐπῆσαν ὑπερβολῇ, καὶ ὅτι μέγιστος ἤδη διάπλους ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας καὶ ἐπὶ μεγίστῃ ἐλπίδι τῶν μελλόντων πρὸς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐπεχειρήθη.³²⁶

Although some have found this statement to foreshadow Athens' spectacular defeat, the focalization of this whole paragraph, and especially the adjective περιβόητος, show that Thucydides is here referring to the impressions and emotions of the crowd described at 6.31.1.³²⁷ Athens is at the peak of its

³²⁶ T 6.31.6: "Indeed the expedition became not less famous for its wonderful boldness and for the splendor of its appearance, than for its overwhelming strength as compared with the peoples against whom it was directed, and for the fact that this was the longest passage from home hitherto attempted, and the most ambitious in its objectives considering the resources of those who undertook it" (tr. Crawley).

³²⁷ Hornblower 3 391-393 summarizes the arguments for and against taking this sentence as a negative description pointing to the later disaster, concluding that this section is meant to describe the actual power of Athens rather than a sensory illusion. In any case, a reader who knows Thucydides well can read this passage 'backwards' against 7.71 and 7.75, giving

power in this moment, and the τόλμα of sending such a great expedition so far rightly causes amazement (θάμβος). One of the most beneficial effects of τόλμα in war is the shock it produces in one's enemies.³²⁸ The amazement caused by the expedition is analogous, but here it reinforces the Greeks' belief in Athenian power rather than breaking soldiers' morale. And yet the ἔρως that motivated the expedition is much like the ἔρως that drove Harmodius and Aristogeiton to an act of τόλμα that Thucydides unambiguously condemns.³²⁹ Much like the pursuit of pleasure (ἡδονή) causes τόλμα during the Plague and in *stasis* to be unrestrained and immoderate, Thucydides' explicit connection of ἔρως with Athenian τόλμα in books six and seven signals the reader that τόλμα is now detrimental to the Athenians. Although the watchers did not know that the departing ships were the concrete manifestation of the height of Athenian power, Thucydides had the benefit of hindsight and so chose this decisive moment for a powerful description of the sensory and emotional impact of Athens' military might.³³⁰

When the Athenians begin to fare badly in Sicily and are subject to renewed Peloponnesian invasions, Thucydides reiterates their unexpected τόλμα. In a sentence whose "syntactical audacity" reflects the τόλμα the Athenians are said to show,³³¹ Thucydides sums up the Athenians' difficulties in fighting a two front war:

added force to what Hornblower calls the "tragedy" of Athenian power being destroyed in book seven.

³²⁸ Luginbill (1999) 90.

³²⁹ Meyer (2008) 25, who also notes a linguistic parallel between λαμπρότητι in this passage and λαμπροῦ describing Harmodius in 6.54.2; see also Wohl (1999), who analyzes the theme of *eros* in book six in light of recent scholarship on Athenian sexual *mores*.

³³⁰ See section 5.3 for a discussion of the expedition of as concrete manifestation of Athenian power (*rhōmē*).

³³¹ Gomme et al. (1970) 404.

μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπίεζεν ὅτι δύο πολέμους ἅμα εἶχον, καὶ ἐς φιλονικίαν καθέστασαν τοιαύτην ἣν πρὶν γενέσθαι ἠπίστησεν ἄν τις ἀκούσας. τὸ γὰρ αὐτοὺς πολιορκουμένους ἐπιτειχισμῷ ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων μηδ' ὥς ἀποστήναι ἐκ Σικελίας, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ Συρακούσας τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ ἀντιπολιορκεῖν, πόλιν οὐδὲν ἐλάσσω αὐτὴν γε καθ' αὐτὴν τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τὸν παράλογον τοσοῦτον ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τόλμης, ὅσον κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ πολέμου οἱ μὲν ἐνιαυτόν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ τριῶν γε ἐτῶν οὐδεὶς πλείω χρόνον ἐνόμιζον περιοίσειν αὐτούς, εἰ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐσβάλοιεν ἐς τὴν χώραν, ὥστε ἔτει ἐπακαιδεκάτῳ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐσβολὴν ἦλθον ἐς Σικελίαν ἥδη τῷ πολέμῳ κατὰ πάντα τετρυχωμένοι, καὶ πόλεμον οὐδὲν ἐλάσσω προσανείλοντο τοῦ πρότερον ὑπάρχοντος ἐκ Πελοποννήσου.³³²

The phrase παράλογον ... τόλμης recalls the effects of an unexpected assault on a body of troops, and the priamel concluding with “in the seventeenth year” focuses the reader’s attention on the recurrent theme of Athenian power and resilience beyond what the other Greeks calculated at the war’s beginning.³³³ Thus, the Athenians’ defining quality, τόλμα, enables them continually to confound their enemies. And yet Lisa Kallet convincingly argues that this passage’s cluster of medical vocabulary suggests that the Athenian *polis* is afflicted with passions like a human body afflicted with disease.³³⁴ Again, τόλμα motivated by passion and pleasure rather than controlled by reason is a decidedly negative quality. On this reading, Athens

³³² T 7.28.3: “But what most oppressed them was that they had two wars at once, and had thus reached a pitch of frenzy which no one would have believed possible if he had heard of it before it had come to pass. For could anyone have imagined that even when besieged by the Peloponnesians entrenched in Attica, they would still, instead of withdrawing from Sicily, stay on besieging in like manner Syracuse, a city (taken as a city) in no way inferior to Athens, or would so thoroughly upset the Hellenic estimate of their strength and audacity, as to give a spectacle of a people which, at the beginning of the war, some thought might hold out one year, some two, none more than three, if the Peloponnesians invaded their country, now seventeen years after the first invasion, after having already suffered from all the evils of war, going to Sicily and undertaking a new war nothing inferior to that which they already had with the Peloponnesians?” (tr. Crawley).

³³³ Hornblower 3 594, Kallet (2001) 127.

³³⁴ Kallet (2001) 128-132; note especially how she links the *philonikia* in this passage with “the Athenians’ lust and desire for the expedition in 415 (6.24).”

shows excessive τόλμα in fighting two wars simultaneously. Much like individuals during the plague valued pleasure and profit above their bodies and possessions, the city squanders its citizens and resources in an overbold attempt at greater imperial power.³³⁵

Another passage where τόλμα seems to be an advantage for the Athenians only to harm them in the event is Demosthenes' attack on Epipolae. The Athenian attack is initially successful, since the Athenians' τόλμα causes ἑκπληξίς in their opponents.³³⁶

οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τῶν προτειχισμάτων, καὶ ἀδοκῆτου τοῦ τολμήματος σφίσιν ἐν νυκτὶ γενομένου προσέβαλόν τε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ βιασθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον ὑπεχώρησαν.³³⁷

This operation is the first known full-scale night battle in Greek history,³³⁸ although Demosthenes had experience commanding night marches followed by dawn or predawn attacks.³³⁹ Despite Demosthenes' experience with similar operations, a hoplite army's underdeveloped means of communication and identification made fighting in the dark extremely risky.³⁴⁰ Lazenby calls Thucydides' account "a classic illustration of the difficulties and dangers of

³³⁵ Kallet (2001) 136-137, linking T 2.53.2 with the present passage.

³³⁶ The concrete noun τόλμημα only occurs two other times in Thucydides: at 2.25.2 to describe why Brasidas was the first commended at Sparta, and at 6.54.1 to introduce the tyrannicide digression (on which see below). Therefore, this form cannot be said only to refer to positive or negative τόλμα, although the nearer and more emphatic use at 6.54 is more likely to color the reader's impression of Demosthenes' plan.

³³⁷ T 7.43.6: "The Syracusans and their allies, and Gylippus with the troops under his command, advanced to the rescue from the outworks, but engaged with some consternation (a night attack being a piece of audacity which they had never expected), and were at first compelled to retreat" (tr. Crawley).

³³⁸ Roisman (1993) 59; Hornblower 3 627 discusses the rare word *nuktomachia*, which occurs once in Herodotus to describe a daytime battle during an eclipse, and he notes that the Greeks found night fighting to be especially horrible.

³³⁹ Roisman (1993) 59, noting the attacks on an Ambraciot camp (T 3.112.1-3), the Spartan position on Sphacteria (T 4.31.1), and the long walls of Megara (T 4.67.68).

³⁴⁰ Roisman (1993) 59, Lazenby (2001) 158.

fighting in the dark.”³⁴¹ In the end, Demosthenes’ overbold plan led to a decisive Athenian defeat.³⁴² Although the Athenian reinforcements briefly shook Syracusan morale and encouraged the Athenians, Demosthenes’ arrival had no lasting effect on the basic trajectory of the two sides’ morale.³⁴³

The tyrannicide digression shows more clearly the negative aspects of τόλμα within the Athenian *polis*. Thucydides begins the digression by explaining that he wishes to relate the τόλμημα of Harmodius and Aristogeiton to show how the Athenians lack ἀκριβές concerning their tyrants and history,³⁴⁴ and in a classic ring composition he ends the episode with a reference to the ἀλόγιστος τόλμα of the two men,³⁴⁵ only then completely revealing that the assassination plot was not a blow for freedom but a murder motivated by passion.³⁴⁶ Furthermore, the substitution of ἐρωτικὴν λύπην at the end for ἐρωτικὴν ξυντυχίαν at the beginning, in addition to the contrast between the reasoned response of Hippias and the irrational passion of Aristogeiton, shows that this act of daring was extremely harmful.³⁴⁷ The erotic and emotional impetus for their actions clearly marks the τόλμα of Harmodius and Aristogeiton as immoderate and negative. Just as the pursuit of pleasure motivates excessive τόλμα during the Plague and in *stasis*, the perceived threat to their sexual relationship causes the irrational daring of the tyrannicides. Although the conspirators thought their act of daring would

³⁴¹ Lazenby (2001) 158.

³⁴² Lazenby (2001) 159.

³⁴³ Romilly (1956) 154-155. See section 5.4 for more analysis of the rise and fall of morale on both sides, which Thucydides expresses with words from the ῥώμη family.

³⁴⁴ T 6.54.1.

³⁴⁵ T 6.59.1.

³⁴⁶ Allison (1997a) 183.

³⁴⁷ Meyer (2008) 19.

inspire others to join in to “free themselves,”³⁴⁸ the actual result was greater oppression. Elizabeth Meyer argues that the purpose of this digression is to pinpoint the moment when the Athenians became truly tyrannical; just as the murder of Hipparchus caused the Peisistratid tyranny to become harsh and unjust, the mutilation of the herms and the profanation of the Mysteries caused the Athenian *demos*, because of its misunderstanding of history, to become harsh and unjust.³⁴⁹

June Allison’s analysis of 6.59 in relation to 3.82 points to an even more profound conclusion about Thucydides’ view of the political situation at Athens in 415, although she never states it explicitly.³⁵⁰ She rightly points out that the phrase ἀλόγιστος τόλμα at 6.59.1 reminds the alert reader of τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγιστος ἀνδρεία φιλέταιρος ἐνομίσθη at 3.82.4, and this reader notes the absence of the phrase ἀνδρεία φιλέταιρος, especially since the two chief conspirators were ἐταῖροι and lovers.³⁵¹ She concludes that Harmodius and Aristogeiton have misjudged reckless daring as loyal courage, just as men do in *stasis*, and just as the Athenians do in evaluating the tyrannicides as heroes and Alcibiades as an enemy of the *demos*.³⁵² The Athenians, therefore, would judge the recall of Alcibiades an act of loyal courage, necessary to protect the city. In Thucydides’ view, however, it is an act of irrational daring, since they are not only depriving the troops in Sicily of their most able general, but also

³⁴⁸ T 6.56.3: ἤλπιζον γὰρ καὶ τοὺς μὴ προειδότας, εἰ καὶ ὅποσοι οὖν τολμήσειαν, ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἔχοντάς γε ὄπλα ἐθελήσειν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ξυνελευθεροῦν. “They expected that those without foreknowledge, even if so few of them dared, would join them in fighting for freedom with the weapons at hand.”

³⁴⁹ Meyer (2008) 19-24.

³⁵⁰ Allison (1997a) 182-186.

³⁵¹ Allison (1997a) 184, translating ἀνδρεία φιλέταιρος as “loyal courage, i.e., courage in defense of one’s companion.”

³⁵² *Ibid.*

driving him over to the Peloponnesians, who make great use of his advice and insights to further their own war efforts. Thus, the recall of Alcibiades, as Thucydides shows with the insertion of the tyrannicide digression, marks the beginning of *stasis* at Athens. The Athenians are not yet fighting in the streets, but they are incorrectly evaluating actions just as Thucydides describes in 3.82.

The speech of Euphemus in the Camarina debate also shows the change in Athenian character since the beginning of the Archidamian war. He deploys the vocabulary of τόλμα twice: once referring to Athenian actions against Persia, and once rhetorically attacking his opponents for being misleading much like the Syracusan Athenagoras does.³⁵³ Although the reference to Athens' τόλμα against Persia is superficially like the theme of Athenian τόλμα developed in books one and two, Euphemus' invocation of the Persian Wars is strikingly different from that of the Athenian ambassadors at 1.74. In book one, the ambassadors point to Athens' three contributions against Persia: the greatest number of ships, the most intelligent general, and the most unflinching or daring patriotism (προθυμίαν ἀσκηνοτάτην, προθυμίαν δὲ καὶ πολὺ τολμηροτάτην).³⁵⁴ Euphemus, on the other hand, replaces the most intelligent general with the new argument that Athens was justified in reducing the Ionians to servitude because some of them joined Persia.³⁵⁵ In contrast to the Athenian ambassadors' genuine plea for negotiation at Sparta in book one, Euphemus' speech purports to be realistic and frank but is actually quite disingenuous.³⁵⁶ Euphemus' later attack on his

³⁵³ T 6.82.4, 6.86.4; see below on Athenagoras.

³⁵⁴ T 1.74.1-2.

³⁵⁵ T 6.82.4-83.1; Connor (1984) 183-184.

³⁵⁶ Rawlings (1981) 121-122.

opponent for daring to mislead his listeners recalls the rhetoric of Athenagoras in the initial Syracusan debate.³⁵⁷ The suggestive parallels and discontinuity with the ambassadors' speech in book one shows that "Athens has crossed the boundaries of restraint and embarked upon a venture that is already profoundly changing her."³⁵⁸

Indeed, lack of restraint characterizes Athenian τόλμα throughout the campaign in Sicily. Despite the role of τόλμα in the Athenians' continued resistance in the face of wars against the Peloponnesians and the Syracusans, this characteristically Athenian quality becomes a great hindrance to Athens at this stage in the war. The Athenians are no longer showing τόλμα only in a way that confounds their enemies; instead, their daring nature has run amok and is causing them to take excessive risks in dealing with their enemies and their fellow citizens. Thucydides shows that the key to utilizing τόλμα is moderation, but without a leader like Pericles to control the people with his γνώμη,³⁵⁹ the Athenians' daring character was bound to lead to excessive pleasure and profit seeking.

3.5 Hermocrates and Syracusan τόλμα

Thucydides takes up the idea of moderate and excessive τόλμα in the first set of paired Syracusan speeches in order to show that, unlike the Athenians, the Syracusans will be able to control τόλμα and deploy it in an effective and helpful way. Thucydides himself explicitly says that τόλμα was crucial to the Syracusans,³⁶⁰ and the way the Syracusan leadership deploys

³⁵⁷ T 6.86.4; cf. 6.36.1 and 6.39.2, discussed below.

³⁵⁸ Connor (1984) 184.

³⁵⁹ T 2.65.8-9.

³⁶⁰ T 6.69.1, 8.96.5.

the vocabulary of τόλμα rhetorically shows why they outmatched the Athenians in this important psychological quality. In addition to Thucydides' own statements concerning Syracusan τόλμα, this quality is a recurrent motif in the speeches and thoughts of the Syracusan leadership. Its meaning is implicitly disputed in the debate of Hermocrates and Athenagoras when news of the Athenian fleet reaches Syracuse, it dominates Hermocrates' considerations about manning a Syracusan fleet, and it appears in Gylippus' and the generals' speech before the final battle in the Great Harbor.

Although Athenagoras rails against those who would show τόλμα against their fellow citizens, Hermocrates' conception of military τόλμα tempered by prudent precautions more aptly fits the meaning of τόλμα as it appears in the later passages. The debate ends with a short speech by a general, who, unlike Sthenelaidas at Sparta, diffuses the tension and advocates cautious preparation for the war.³⁶¹ Thus, the outcome of the conference is a more moderate plan than Hermocrates' daring idea, and demagogic attacks among the Syracusans disappear from the narrative. The Athenians and Syracusans are not only two peoples characterized by τόλμα, but representatives of the two different aspects of τόλμα.

In his first speech, Hermocrates advises the Syracusans not to be terrified by the Athenians' τόλμα, but rather to shock the Athenians by showing τόλμα themselves.³⁶² He begins by exhorting his countrymen not to feel ἔκπληξις at the Athenians' τόλμα and δύναμις,³⁶³ recalling Thucydides'

³⁶¹ Rawlings (1981) 85.

³⁶² See also section 2.5 above on this passage.

³⁶³ T 6.33.4: εἰ δέ τῳ καὶ πιστά, τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῶν καὶ δύναμιν μὴ ἐκπλάγῃ. "If these things are believable to someone, let him not be shocked at their daring and power."

description of the departure of the expedition at 6.31.6.³⁶⁴ Whether or not this echo is meant to imply that Athens' power is illusory,³⁶⁵ Hermocrates' statement shows a clear understanding of the psychological effects of τόλμα in a military context.³⁶⁶ In fact, Hermocrates argues that by showing their own τόλμα, the Syracusans will be able to inspire the stronger κατάπλεξις in the Athenians.³⁶⁷ Hermocrates concludes with an exhortation to show τόλμα and meet the Athenians at Tarentum, but concedes that the Syracusans must at least prepare for war and make τὰς μετὰ φόβου παρασκευὰς ἀσφαλεστάτας.³⁶⁸ This invocation of the safest preparations based on fear recalls the speech of Archidamus before the first invasion of Attica.³⁶⁹ Although his actual plan to meet the Athenian expedition in force before it reached Sicily may or may not be strategically sound,³⁷⁰ Hermocrates' implicit analysis of the psychology of the two sides is accurate.³⁷¹ In fact, his final piece of advice, to take rational precautions against the invasion, is confirmed by the unnamed general whose speech ends the debate.³⁷² Hermocrates loses the debate in the sense that the Syracusans do not adopt his strategic proposal, but his conception of τόλμα and its relationship to Syracusan

³⁶⁴ Hornblower 3 392, 400.

³⁶⁵ Kallet (2001) 66-67, noting that Hermocrates argues the *ekplexis* caused by the Athenians could actually be beneficial to Syracuse by scaring the rest of Sicily into an alliance.

³⁶⁶ For more on τόλμα and *ekplexis*, see section 2.5 above.

³⁶⁷ 6.34.8: εἰ δ' ἴδοιεν παρὰ γνώμην τολμήσαντας, τῷ ἀδοκίτῳ μᾶλλον ἂν καταπλαγεῖεν ἢ τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς δυνάμει. "If they saw us daring contrary to reason, they would be more struck by the unexpectedness than by our actual power." Note also the echo of the Corinthians' description of the Athenians at 1.70.3.

³⁶⁸ T 6.34.9: "the safest preparations with fear."

³⁶⁹ Desmond (2006) 376-378.

³⁷⁰ Hornblower 3 398-400 summarizes the not inconsiderable debate on whether Hermocrates' plan was sound.

³⁷¹ Luginbill (1999) 178-179 argues that this speech begins the transformation of Syracusan character from slower and Spartan-like to more daring and Athenian-like. In any case, Syracusan τόλμα is an important motif as the expedition unfolds.

³⁷² Hornblower 3 416-417.

psychology reflects the later occurrences of this motif in Thucydides' account. Unlike the Athenians, whose τόλμα is truly παρὰ γνώμην and unchecked in books six and seven, the Syracusans temper their τόλμα with rational preparations.

In response to Hermocrates, Athenagoras makes a speech rebuking those who would dare to spread false rumors about an Athenian attack.³⁷³ This type of τόλμα, deployed politically against one's fellow citizens, represents a clear difference from the controlled military τόλμα advocated by Hermocrates. Athenagoras, who functions as a paradigm for the Syracusan demagogue much like Cleon functions for the Athenian demagogue,³⁷⁴ is clearly wrong that the Athenians are not sailing to Sicily. In fact, his assertions that Syracuse is especially prone to *stasis* do not reflect Thucydides' text as it exists.³⁷⁵ This type of dangerous, internal τόλμα does not recur at Syracuse in books six or seven, despite Nicias' persistent hope that *stasis* will enable the Athenians to defeat Syracuse. Thus, excessive τόλμα and *stasis* appear in Athenagoras' speech only to be implicitly discarded as Thucydides shapes the themes that dominate his account of the war in Sicily.³⁷⁶ As the motif of Syracusan τόλμα recurs, it becomes clear that Hermocrates' formulation of moderate τόλμα better reflects Syracusan psychology and actions against the

³⁷³ T 6.36.1: τόλμης, 6.39.2: τολμάτε.

³⁷⁴ Hornblower 3 396, 405-407.

³⁷⁵ T 6.38.3; Hornblower 3 411, however, adduces Thucydides' statement at 5.1 that *stasis* was prevalent at Syracuse; 406-407 notes that Athenagoras does make some valid claims about democracy, so his speech may have originally been meant to prefigure the outbreak of *stasis* at Syracuse and Hermocrates' attempted tyranny in a hypothetical book nine or ten of Thucydides.

³⁷⁶ Rawlings (1981) 83 argues that this speech, like that of Archidamus in book one, is meant to modify and expand the portrait of Athens' adversary, and "is recorded only for the light it sheds upon Syracusan political and social conditions." Athenagoras shows the dark side of Syracusan democracy, but this theme does not resurface in what was finished of Thucydides' *Histories*.

Athenians. The ascendancy of Hermocrates means that Syracuse has chosen the new Pericles over the new Cleon, and this choice has profound effects on Syracuse itself and even Athens.³⁷⁷

Hermocrates is also linked with τόλμα at the pivotal moment when the Syracusans first decide to man a fleet. At the same time the Lacedaemonians fortify Deceleia, Gylippus returns to Syracuse with fresh allies and urges the Syracusans to oppose the Athenians by sea.³⁷⁸ Thucydides records in *oratio obliqua* the supporting speech of Hermocrates:

ξυνανέπειθε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἑρμοκράτης οὐχ ἥκιστα, τοῦ ταῖς ναυσὶ μὴ ἀθυμεῖν ἐπιχειρῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, λέγων οὐδ' ἐκείνους πάτριον τὴν ἐμπειρίαν οὐδ' αἰδίων τῆς θαλάσσης ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἡπειρώτας μᾶλλον τῶν Συρακοσίων ὄντας καὶ ἀναγκασθέντας ὑπὸ Μήδων ναυτικούς γενέσθαι. καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας τολμηροὺς, οἷους καὶ Ἀθηναίους, τοὺς ἀντιτολμώντας χαλεπωτάτους ἂν [αὐτοῖς] φαίνεσθαι· ᾧ γὰρ ἐκείνοι τοὺς πέλας, οὐ δυνάμει ἔστιν ὅτε προύχοντες, τῷ δὲ θράσει ἐπιχειροῦντες καταφοβοῦσι, καὶ σφᾶς ἂν τὸ αὐτὸ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὑποσχεῖν. καὶ Συρακοσίους εὖ εἰδέναι ἔφη τῷ τολμῆσαι ἀπροσδοκῆτως πρὸς τὸ Ἀθηναίων ναυτικὸν ἀντιστῆναι πλεον τι διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐκπλαγέντων αὐτῶν περιγεννησομένων ἢ Ἀθηναίους τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ τὴν Συρακοσίων ἀπειρίαν βλάψοντας. ἰέναι οὖν ἐκέλευεν ἐς τὴν πεῖραν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ μὴ ἀποκνεῖν.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁷ Rawlings (1981) 84. See also Luginbill (1999) 174 on Hermocrates as a Periclean leader.

³⁷⁸ T 7.20-21.2.

³⁷⁹ T 7.21.3-4: "With him Hermocrates actively joined in trying to persuade his countrymen not to lack the enthusiasm to attack the Athenians at sea, saying that the latter had not inherited their naval prowess nor would they retain it for ever; they had been landsmen even to a greater degree than the Syracusans, and had only become a maritime power when obliged by the Mede. Besides, to daring spirits like the Athenians, reciprocal daring would seem the most formidable; and the Athenian plan of paralyzing by the boldness of their attack a neighbor often not their inferior in strength, could now be used against them with as good effect by the Syracusans. He was convinced also that the unlooked-for spectacle of Syracusans daring to face the Athenian navy would cause a terror to the enemy, the advantages of which would far outweigh any loss that Athenian science might inflict upon their inexperience. He accordingly urged them to throw aside their fears and to try their fortune at sea" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

Hermocrates returns to the theme of his earlier speech that the Syracusans must match τόλμα with τόλμα, using three τολμ- words including the rare verb ἀντιτολμάω.³⁸⁰ Showing he has an accurate understanding of the terrifying power of unexpected daring in a military setting, Hermocrates argues that it can make up for inferiorities in material strength. In addition, his advice on fighting by sea is almost identical to his judgment of fighting on land at 6.72 that “the Syracusans’ bravery and daring will overcome their inexperience and defeat the Athenians’ greater experience (*empeiria*) and knowledge (*episteme*).”³⁸¹ Although the Syracusans lose the subsequent sea battle much like they lost their first land battle, because of disorder and confusion, the capture of the Athenian forts at Plemmyrium cements the Syracusans’ superiority on land.³⁸² Thus, Hermocrates’ arguments about Syracusan character do not explain the outcome of the battles with which they are paired; instead, his conception of τόλμα and its military uses reflect broader themes in the narrative of the Sicilian expedition. Ultimately, the truth of Hermocrates’ assessment of Syracusan character as daring and innovative sets up the decisive moment at 7.36.3, when they decide to equip their ships for prow-to-prow ramming, allowing Syracuse to defeat Athens even in naval warfare.³⁸³

The theme of Syracusan τόλμα recurs in the speech of Gylippus and the generals that forms part of the “ensemble” introducing the final battle and presenting Thucydides’ implicit analysis of the two sides’ morale.³⁸⁴ Gylippus

³⁸⁰ Hornblower 3 580-581 notes that the verb also occurs at 2.89.6 in the speech of Phormio and the related adjective ἀντίτολμος occurs at Aechylus *Eumenides* 553.

³⁸¹ Rawlings (1981) 170.

³⁸² *Ibid.*

³⁸³ Romilly (1956) 151-153 argues that this moment sets up the final Athenian defeat in the great harbor, since it allows the Syracusans to take advantage of the topography and neutralize their inferiority in naval skill and tactics.

³⁸⁴ Romilly (1956) 160-161.

picks up Hermocrates' antitheses between τόλμα and ἐπιστήμη but suggests that the Syracusans now possess both:

ἡμῶν δὲ τό τε ὑπάρχον πρότερον, ᾧ περ καὶ ἀνεπιστήμονες ἔτι ὄντες ἀπετολμήσαμεν, βεβαιότερον νῦν, καὶ τῆς δοκίσεως προσγεγεννημένης αὐτῷ, τὸ κρατίστους εἶναι εἰ τοὺς κρατίστους ἐνίκησαμεν, διπλασία ἐκάστου ἢ ἐλπίς· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις ἢ μεγίστη ἐλπίς μεγίστην καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν παρέχεται.³⁸⁵

This passage cements the motif of Syracusan τόλμα that Thucydides has been developing in Hermocrates' speeches and his own authorial comments throughout books six and seven.³⁸⁶ Furthermore, this passage is rich with verbal similarities to other passages where Thucydides analyzes Syracusan morale.³⁸⁷ The combination of recently acquired ἐπιστήμη with the τόλμα they always possessed sets up the final Syracusan victory. The deficiency that Thucydides identified in his first explicit analysis of Syracusan morale at 6.69.1 is no longer a problem for the Syracusans.

Thucydides even hints at the failure of Athenian τόλμα. In his speech before the first land battle against the Syracusans, Nicias argues that the Syracusans have τόλμα but lack ἐπιστήμη: οἱ ὑπερφρονοῦσι μὲν ἡμᾶς, ὑπομενοῦσι δ' οὐ, διὰ τὸ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῆς τόλμης ἥσσω ἔχειν.³⁸⁸ This is essentially the converse of Hermocrates' repeated claim that Syracusan

³⁸⁵ T 7.67.1: "With us it is different. The original estimate of ourselves which gave us daring when we still lacked skill has been strengthened, while the conviction added to it that we must be the best seamen of the time, if we have conquered the best, has given a double measure of hope to every man among us; and, for the most part, where there is the greatest hope, there is also the greatest enthusiasm for action" (modified from Crawley's translation).

³⁸⁶ Luginbill (1999) 179 argues that this speech sums up the transformation of Syracusan character into the daring and hopeful kind he associates with the Athenians.

³⁸⁷ ἐπιχειρήσεις is echoed by ἐπιχειρηταί (of the Athenians in contrast to the ἄτολμοι Spartans) at 8.96.5; the collocation of τόλμα, προθυμία, and ἐπιστήμη also recalls Thucydides' description of the Syracusans (οὐ γὰρ δὴ προθυμὶα ἐλλίπεις ἦσαν οὐδὲ τόλμη...) at 6.69.1; see section 4.4 for more on προθυμία in this passage.

³⁸⁸ T 6.68.2: "They look down on us, but they will not stand up to us, because of having less knowledge than daring."

τόλμα will make up for superior Athenian ἐπιστήμη. Although Thucydides' comment on the following battle confirms Nicias' argument that the Syracusans lose because of a lack of ἐπιστήμη,³⁸⁹ ceding the advantage in τόλμα to the Syracusans becomes problematic when they gain experience and skill. Once the Syracusans have triumphed at sea by reinforcing their prows, they decide to try annihilating the entire Athenian force and take measures in case the Athenians still show daring:

ἔκκληον οὖν τὸν τε λιμένα εὐθύς τὸν μέγαν, ἔχοντα τὸ στόμα
ὀκτὼ σταδίων μάλιστα, τριήρεσι πλαγίαις καὶ πλοίοις καὶ ἀκάτοις
ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ὀρμίζοντες, καὶ τὰλλα, ἣν ἔτι ναυμαχεῖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
τολμήσωσι, παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ ὀλίγον οὐδὲν ἐς οὐδὲν
ἐπενόουν.³⁹⁰

As Romilly argues, this completes the reversal of Naupactus, as the Athenians vainly try to shrug off a dispiriting defeat with irrational hopes.³⁹¹ Since Nicias ceded the rhetorical advantage in τόλμα to the Syracusans long before, it is not surprising that he is unable to inspire the true daring that could have shocked the Syracusans and reversed the general trend in the two sides' morale. Ultimately, the second defeat so badly damages Athenian morale that the sailors will not even show enough τόλμα to attempt a third sea battle, despite their continued numerical superiority.³⁹²

Thucydides carefully deploys terms from the τολμ- root in his account of the Sicilian expedition. Although both sides are characterized by τόλμα, Thucydides depicts the Athenians as irrationally daring and the Syracusans as

³⁸⁹ T 6.69.1.

³⁹⁰ T 7.59.3: "They began at once to close up the Great Harbor by means of boats, merchant vessels, and galleys moored broadside across its mouth, which is nearly a mile wide, and made all their other arrangements for the event of the Athenians again daring to fight at sea. There was, in fact, nothing little either in their plans or their ideas" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

³⁹¹ Romilly (1956) 156-157.

³⁹² T 7.72.

bold in adversity. When applied to the Athenians, τόλμα represents their decision to send the expedition and continue despite the renewal of war in Hellas.³⁹³ It refers to the actions of the tyrannicides and the risky military plan that compromised Demosthenes' reinforcements.³⁹⁴ It also characterizes the disingenuous rhetoric that dominated Athenian diplomacy.³⁹⁵ When Thucydides applies τόλμα to the Syracusans in his own voice,³⁹⁶ it reflects the same theme that Hermocrates repeats time and again: Syracusan daring will defeat Athenian military science.³⁹⁷ Ultimately, the speech of Gylippus before the climactic battle in the Great Harbor claims that the Syracusans have added knowledge to their daring, prefiguring their decisive victory.³⁹⁸

3.6 Conclusion

Thucydides skillfully deploys the two different connotations of τόλμα, boldness and excessive daring, to highlight a fundamental difference between Athens and Syracuse during the Sicilian Expedition. The contrasts between the irrational and excessive Athenian τόλμα and the controlled and unbending Syracusan τόλμα represent a purposeful motif in the previously identified parallelism between Athens and Syracuse.³⁹⁹ Although τόλμα is extremely effective in the short-term, it ultimately undermines state morale. Sparta shuns Brasidas because his τόλμα makes him a threat. Diodorus tells that Hermocrates was later killed for attempting to establish a tyranny.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹³ T 6.31.6, 7.28.3.

³⁹⁴ T 6.54.1, 6.59.1, 7.43.6.

³⁹⁵ T 6.82.4, 6.86.4.

³⁹⁶ T 6.69.1.

³⁹⁷ T 6.34.8, 6.34.9, 7.21.3 (x2) 7.21.4.

³⁹⁸ T 7.67.1.

³⁹⁹ See Hornblower 3 21-22 for a recent sketch of the Athens/Syracuse parallel.

⁴⁰⁰ Diodorus Siculus 13.75.5-8.

Thucydides' narrative shows that τόλμα frequently motivates transgressive actions. The long-term durability of Spartan morale is related to their lack of τόλμα. Although Athens' τόλμα brings success on many occasions, and her most effective adversaries show τόλμα, this quality ultimately leads to Athens imploding into internal dissension. The strong association of Hermocrates with τόλμα and the speech of Athenagoras suggest that the completed *Histories* would have shown Syracuse imploding in a similar manner.⁴⁰¹

The usefulness of martial τόλμα and the destructiveness of τόλμα in the civic sphere shows that it is an ambivalent quality in Thucydides' eyes.⁴⁰² Yet this may be too neat a distinction, since too much boldness can also be a hindrance in military affairs. It is, therefore, better to conclude that moderate τόλμα is beneficial, but unrestrained τόλμα is detrimental. Furthermore, Thucydides often signals the reader that τόλμα is positive by linking it with γνώμη or rational preparations and negative by linking it with ἔρως, ἡδονή, or quick and impulsive actions. Unfortunately, Thucydides' work is unfinished, so it is impossible to know whether the Spartans ultimately win because they gain τόλμα or because they find a way to triumph without it. The characterization of exceptional Spartan leaders like Brasidas implies that they may have found a way to reconcile τόλμα with their ἄτολμοι nature, but the Spartans' fear of Athenian τόλμα and jealousy of Brasidas makes it more likely that Sparta triumphed without significantly relying on this quality.⁴⁰³ Thucydides blamed Athens' defeat on internal strife that I have shown stemmed from increasingly excessive τόλμα as the war progressed, so it is simply too dangerous to rely

⁴⁰¹ Hornblower 3 396, who notes that Athenagoras' remarkably sustained defense of Athenian-style democracy may allude to Hermocrates' later career.

⁴⁰² Bassi (2003) 31 n 19.

⁴⁰³ Spartan fear of Athenian τόλμα: T 1.90.1, 1.102.3; jealousy of Brasidas: 4.108.7.

on τόλμα when fighting a long term conflict. As the description of the Plague and the spread of *stasis* show, uncontrolled τόλμα causes increasingly transgressive and radicalized behavior. A daring act leads to a more daring response, and because of the pressure of war the cycle repeats until the city destroys itself.

CHAPTER 4

SPIRIT AND MORALE: *PROTHUMIA*

4.1 Introduction

The semantic field I typically refer to by the abstract noun προθυμία also includes a verbal form, an adjectival form, and an adverbial form.⁴⁰⁴ The noun προθυμία occurs twenty-one times, typically meaning ‘spirit,’ ‘enthusiasm,’ or ‘zeal.’⁴⁰⁵ The verb προθυμέομαι occurs fifteen times and can mean ‘be enthusiastic for’ with an accusative object or ‘be enthusiastic to’ with a complementary infinitive; the latter meaning can act as an emphatic equivalent of βούλομαι.⁴⁰⁶ The adjective πρόθυμος occurs thirty-two times and typically refers to enthusiasm in a general sense, although four of its occurrences are as a neuter substantive.⁴⁰⁷ The adverb προθύμως, meaning ‘enthusiastically’ or ‘zealously,’ appears thirty times.⁴⁰⁸ Huart defines προθυμία in Thucydides generally as “*ardeur*,” though he notes that the verbal form especially can also mean “*désire*” and “*zèle*.”⁴⁰⁹ As the antonym of

⁴⁰⁴ The root of προθυμία, -θυμος, occurs in a variety of other words used in Thucydides; see Huart (1968) 411 n 2 for more on the other -θυμος compounds in Thucydides, none of which come especially close in meaning to English morale like προθυμία or ἀθυμία.

⁴⁰⁵ T 1.74.1, 1.74.2, 1.75.1, 1.92.1, 1.118.2, 2.71.3, 3.56.5, 4.11.3, 4.14.3, 5.65.3, 6.47.1, 6.69.1, 6.83.1, 6.88.8, 6.92.3, 7.67.1, 7.70.3, 7.76.1, 8.12.1, 8.15.2, 8.22.1; see also Huart (1968) 412-413.

⁴⁰⁶ T 4.9.1, 4.12.2, 4.81.1, 5.16.1, 5.17.1, 5.39.3, 5.50.1, 5.71.1, 6.31.3, 6.39.2, 7.70.8, 7.86.3, 8.6.1, 8.9.1, 8.90.1; see also Huart (1968) 411-412.

⁴⁰⁷ T 1.71.6, 2.20.4, 2.53.3, 2.86.6, 3.38.6, 3.57.4, 3.67.6, 4.124.4, 6.88.10, 6.89.2, 7.7.2, 7.18.3, 8.40.3, 8.74.1, 8.99.1; as comparative: 4.83.4, 5.37.4, 6.6.2, 6.77.1, 6.80.1, 6.92.1, 7.1.4, 8.90.3; as superlative: 3.59.4, 6.15.2, 7.33.6, 8.68.1, 8.68.3; as neuter substantive: 2.64.6, 3.82.8, 4.85.5, 6.69.3; see also Huart (1968) 414-415.

⁴⁰⁸ T 2.18.3, 2.36.4, 3.10.4, 3.13.7, 3.15.2, 3.45.7, 3.55.3, 3.62.5, 3.95.1, 4.61.4, 4.80.5, 4.121.1, 5.23.1, 5.23.2, 5.32.4, 6.18.2, 6.68.4, 6.75.3, 7.1.4, 7.43.5, 7.66.1, 7.70.7, 8.36.1, 8.46.5, 8.52.1, 8.63.4, 8.75.2, 8.92.1, 8.92.8, 8.106.5; see also Huart (1968) 415.

⁴⁰⁹ Huart (1968) 411-415.

προθυμία,⁴¹⁰ Thucydides uses the abstract noun ἀθυμία, ‘lack of spirit,’ six times and the verb ἀθυμέω, ‘be unenthusiastic,’ twelve times.⁴¹¹ Since προθυμία is more common than the other terms studied in this thesis, discussing the variety of its uses will take somewhat longer. Thucydides does not, however, use the word group with meanings that are significantly different from earlier authors.

The word προθυμία occurs once in the *Iliad*, where it describes Menelaus: ἐν δ’ αὐτὸς κίεν ᾗσι προθυμίῃσι πεποιθώς.⁴¹² The tragedians Aeschylus and Sophocles also use the word προθυμία, and their usages are more clearly similar to those of Thucydides. In the *Prometheus Bound*, Prometheus tries to persuade Oceanus not to ask Zeus to relax the punishment: τὰ μὲν σ’ ἐπαινῶ κούδαμῃ λήξω ποτέ, / προθυμίας γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐλλείπεις· ἀτὰρ / μηδὲν πόνει.⁴¹³ Here Prometheus is actually trying to prevent Oceanus from taking action, but he implies that prothumia is a motivator of action. Thucydides even uses a similar phrase: οὐ γὰρ δὴ προθυμίᾳ ἐλλιπεῖς ᾗσαν.⁴¹⁴

In the *Trachiniae*, Sophocles gives one of the characters a line relating προθυμία to action. Deianeira, upset over her ill-fated gift to Herakles, tells the chorus that she would never recommend eagerness for untried action:

⁴¹⁰ LSJ, s.v. προθυμία, citing Xenophon *Education of Cyrus* 1.6.13 for ἀθυμία as the opposite of προθυμία; Thucydides himself contrasts προθυμία and ἀθυμία at 6.80.1, discussed below. Lendon (1999) 290-292 likens the polarity of προθυμία and ἀθυμία in Xenophon to the more general dichotomy of confidence, boldness, enthusiasm and fear, panic.

⁴¹¹ ἀθυμία: T 1.71.4, 2.51.4, 4.26.4, 6.46.2, 7.24.3, 7.55.1; ἀθυμέω: 2.88.3, 5.91.1, 6.34.6, 6.80.1, 7.21.3, 7.60.5, 7.61.2, 7.76.1, 7.79.3, 8.11.3, 8.76.3, 8.96.3.

⁴¹² Homer *Iliad* 2.588: “He himself moved among them, confident in his zeal.”

⁴¹³ Aeschylus *Prometheus Bound* 340-342: “I will praise you for these things and never stop, for you do not at all lack enthusiasm, but do not trouble yourself.”

⁴¹⁴ T 6.69.1: “They were not lacking in enthusiasm.”

ὥστε μήποτ' ἂν προθυμίαν / ἄδηλον ἔργου τῷ παραινέσαι λαβεῖν.⁴¹⁵

Although Thucydides never uses the phrase προθυμία ἔργου, this conception of προθυμία as a motivator of action appears in Thucydides' *Histories*.

Sophocles' *Electra* also begins with a reference to Orestes yearning for the homeland he is reaching: νῦν ἐκεῖν' ἔξεστί σοι / παρόντι λεύσσειν, ὦν πρόθυμος ἦσθ' ἀεί.⁴¹⁶

The vocabulary of προθυμία is much more common in Herodotus, who uses the verb προθυμέομαι as well as the abstract noun and adjective. Like Thucydides, Herodotus commonly uses προθυμέομαι with an infinitive to mean "eager or enthusiastic to do" something or in an absolute sense of "be enthusiastic" in both military and non-military contexts.⁴¹⁷ Herodotus also uses προθυμῇ ἔχειν and πρόθυμός εἰμι with the same constructions as προθυμέομαι.⁴¹⁸ Furthermore, Herodotus uses these words with about the same relative frequency as Thucydides, with προθυμέομαι occurring seven times, προθυμῇ fifteen, πρόθυμος eighteen, and προθύμως twenty.⁴¹⁹ The only major difference between Thucydides and these other authors is that Thucydides does not use προθυμία and related words to refer to goodwill or kindness.⁴²⁰

Thucydides' description of the Lacedaemonians' decision to go to war contains one of the most common meanings of προθυμία, 'enthusiasm for

⁴¹⁵ Sophocles *Trachiniae* 669-670: "And so I would never recommend to anybody that he be eager for untried action." See Jebb (1902) loc. cit. for ἄδηλον as untried, here in reference to using the 'love potion' for the first time on a gift for Herakles.

⁴¹⁶ Sophocles *Electra* 2-3: "Now it is possible for you in person to look on those things that you were always desiring."

⁴¹⁷ LSJ, s.v. προθυμέομαι.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, s.v. προθυμία, πρόθυμος.

⁴¹⁹ The most notable difference is Herodotus using the abstract noun twice as much as the verb, while Thucydides uses the noun just a couple of times more than the verb.

⁴²⁰ *Contra* LSJ s.v. προθυμία II, citing T 1.74.

war.’ Because προθυμία often refers to a willingness to fight, it overlaps significantly with the English concept of battlefield morale. In this case, the Lacedaemonians decide to undertake the war in a spirit of great enthusiasm:

τότε δὲ οὐκέτι ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλ’ ἐπιχειρητέα ἐδόκει εἶναι πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ καὶ καθαιρετέα ἢ ἰσχύς, ἣν δύνωνται, ἀραμένοις τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον.⁴²¹

The Lacedaemonians’ great enthusiasm for war at the outset corresponds to their high morale, although the ineffectiveness of their military strategy later undermines their morale.

A military alliance also depends on the προθυμία of its members.

Thucydides records a thought of Demosthenes about the Phocians that implies allies join either enthusiastically or under compulsion: οἱ προθύμως ἐδόκουν κατὰ τὴν Ἀθηναίων αἰεὶ ποτε φιλίαν ξυστρατεύσειν ἢ κὰν βία προσαχθῆναι.⁴²² Furthermore, increasing the προθυμία of their countrymen and allies is a frequent goal of generals and other leaders whose speeches Thucydides reports. Hermocrates, for instance, urges Sicilian unity in order to gain προθυμία against Athens. In addition to showing a leader’s concern for προθυμία, this passage balances ἀθυμία against προθυμία, although

Hermocrates alternates between a verbal and an adverbial form:

ὥστε οὐχ ἀθρόους γε ὄντας εἰκὸς ἀθυμεῖν, ἰέναι δὲ ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προθυμότερον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρεσομένης ὠφελίας, οἱ τῶνδε κρείσσους εἰσὶ τὸ παράπαν τὰ πολέμια.⁴²³

⁴²¹ T 1.118.2: “Then the Lacedaemonians could no longer bear it, but rather they decided Athenian power must be attacked with all enthusiasm and, if they were able, destroyed by starting this war.”

⁴²² T 3.95.1: “[The Phocians], whom he expected because of their continual friendly ties with Athens to join the campaign enthusiastically, or perhaps under forceful compulsion.”

⁴²³ T 6.80.1: “And so, at least together we will not likely lack enthusiasm, but fight together more enthusiastically, especially since help will come from the Peloponnesians, who are in all respects mightier than our enemies here in matters of war.”

The contrast between ἀθυμία separately or προθυμία together indicates that Hermocrates sees the two words as antonyms. Since Hermocrates is trying to convince the Camarineans to fight beside the Syracusans in the present and future with more enthusiasm,⁴²⁴ this passage also illustrates the importance of προθυμία to an alliance. This type of appeal to allies to fight with more enthusiasm is quite common, even appearing in the text of the treaty between Athens and Sparta that ended the Archidamian War.⁴²⁵

And yet προθυμία appears in more than just military contexts. One of the most telling uses of a form of προθυμία occurs in the speech of Diodotus. Although he uses the adverb rather than the abstract noun, his argument about the efficacy of legal deterrence shows how powerfully προθυμία can effect human actions. Diodotus claims that no law or other punishment can turn a man away from a course of action he is pursuing with enthusiasm:

ἀπλῶς τε ἀδύνατον καὶ πολλῆς εὐηθείας, ὅστις οἶται τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως ὀρμωμένης προθύμως τι πρᾶξαι ἀποτροπὴν τινα ἔχειν ἢ νόμων ἰσχύι ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ δεινῷ.⁴²⁶

Hornblower notes that the argument here is actually flawed, since legal deterrence is effective on the vast majority of people even if an occasional person breaks the law.⁴²⁷ Whether or not Diodotus' political theory is sound, the important point for my argument is that a man acting with προθυμία cannot be deterred. Thus, προθυμία can be more powerful than the English translations 'enthusiasm' or even 'zeal' suggest and is a kind of unstoppable

⁴²⁴ Hornblower 3 500, follows Dover in taking *ἑυμαχία* to refer loosely to people fighting on the same side, since the Syracusans and Camarineans are already technically allies; Hornblower 3 499 compares 6.75.3, where the Syracusans are said to suspect the Camarineans of sending support not προθύμως.

⁴²⁵ T 5.23.1, 5.23.2.

⁴²⁶ T 3.45.7: "It is absolutely impossible and is a mark of great foolishness, if anyone believes he has any deterrence by force of law or anything else terrible once human nature has started to do something with enthusiasm."

⁴²⁷ Hornblower 1 435-437; he also briefly surveys some scholarship on legal deterrence.

perseverance, since Diodotus claims that nothing terrifying can turn aside a man who acts with προθυμία.

A similar meaning of προθυμία occurs in Thucydides' description of the Great Plague at Athens, although this example shows how an extreme lack of προθυμία prevents men from persevering in anything. Because death was so common, the normal motivators of honor and shame became ineffective: καὶ τὸ μὲν προσταλαιπωρεῖν τῷ δόξαντι καλῷ οὐδεὶς πρόθυμος ἦν, ἄδηλον νομίζων εἰ πρὶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐλθεῖν διαφθαρήσεται.⁴²⁸ Although the disintegration of normal values marks this episode as similar to *stasis*,⁴²⁹ the role of προθυμία is much different. The calamity of the plague undermines each individual's enthusiasm to adhere to the city's values and so ruins Athenian morale. *Stasis*, on the other hand, causes προθυμία to run wild in self-perpetuating cycles of violence. Just as with τόλμα, a complete lack or an overabundance of προθυμία can be problematic.⁴³⁰

Although Diodotus argues that nothing terrifying can stand against προθυμία, fear and desperation can stimulate προθυμία in some cases. One example is Thucydides' explanation of why hoplite armies tend to drift to the right. Here, prothumia describes a soldier's great desire to keep himself protected. The man who first causes the drifting is on the right wing, since he is always enthusiastic to get his exposed side away from the enemy:

⁴²⁸ T 2.53.3: "No one was enthusiastic to persevere in what was reputed to be noble, since considered it uncertain if he would die before he reached his goal."

⁴²⁹ Hornblower 1 326 compares the mood of the *stasis* passage. See near the end of this section for more on προθυμία in *stasis*.

⁴³⁰ See section 3.3 above.

καὶ ἡγεῖται μὲν τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης ὁ πρωτοστάτης τοῦ δεξιοῦ
κέρως, προθυμούμενος ἐξαλλάσσειν αἰεὶ τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν
ἐαυτοῦ γύμνωσιν, ἔπονται δὲ διὰ τὸν αὐτὸν φόβον καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι.⁴³¹

Interestingly, Thucydides here restates the desire of the man on the right to keep his unarmored side away from the enemy as “the same fear.” This contrasts with the usages discussed above of Diodotus and the Plataeans, who equate προθυμία with a kind of fearlessness.

Despite its importance for success in war, προθυμία in the wrong circumstances can be a clear hindrance. In the lead up to this same battle at Mantinea, untimely προθυμία nearly leads the Lacedaemonian forces into disaster:

καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εὐθύς αὐτοῖς ἐπῆσαν· καὶ μέχρι μὲν λίθου καὶ ἄκοντιου βολῆς ἐχώρησαν, ἔπειτα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τις Ἄγιδι ἐπεβόησεν, ὁρῶν πρὸς χωρίον καρτερόν ἰόντας σφᾶς, ὅτι διανοεῖται κακὸν κακῷ ἰᾶσθαι, δηλῶν τῆς ἐξ Ἄργους ἐπαιτίου ἀναχωρήσεως τὴν παροῦσαν ἄκαιρον προθυμίαν ἀνάληψιν βουλόμενον εἶναι.⁴³²

The negative adjective ἄκαιρος, just like the adjective ἀλόγιστος in the stasis description,⁴³³ clearly marks the usage of a typically positive term as negative.⁴³⁴ Enthusiasm is necessary for both soldiers and generals, particularly in the phalanx, since the general fights among the soldiers and is expected to act as a model for them to follow,⁴³⁵ but it is not an absolute good. Neither Thucydides nor his speakers mention inappropriate or excessive

⁴³¹ T 5.71.1: “The man in the front rank of the right wing begins the fault, being zealous to withdraw his exposed side from the enemy, and the rest also follow because of the same fear.”

⁴³² T 5.65.2: “The Lacedaemonians immediately went against them. And they were within a stone’s throw or javelin’s cast, then one of the older men, seeing that they were going against a strong position, shouted to Agis that he was intending to cure bad with bad; meaning that he wished the present untimely enthusiasm to make amends for the reviled retreat from Argos.”

⁴³³ See section 3.4 above.

⁴³⁴ Hornblower 3 171 translates “inopportune” rather than “untimely,” showing even more clearly that the adjective is negative.

⁴³⁵ Compare the contrasting descriptions of Brasidas and Cleon before Amphipolis (T 5.7.2).

ἀνδρεία, but προθυμία like τόλμα can be a negative quality in the wrong circumstances. In addition, this passage may provide a counter-example to Diodotus' argument, since the words of the soldier turn aside what Thucydides calls his general's untimely προθυμία.

Other instances of προθυμία could also be termed negative, like the one in Thucydides' description of the cycle of *stasis*, even though no adjective marks it unambiguously as negative. After cataloguing the inversion of values in *stasis*, Thucydides explains how the cycle begins: πάντων δ' αὐτῶν αἴτιον ἀρχὴ ἢ διὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν· ἐκ δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ φιλονικεῖν καθισταμένων τὸ πρόθυμον.⁴³⁶ Huart notes that this particular usage of πρόθυμον refers to the violence of the desires.⁴³⁷ Lowell Edmunds argues that this passage outlines a genetic relationship from ἀρχὴ ἢ διὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν, to τὸ φιλονικεῖν and, finally, to τὸ πρόθυμον.⁴³⁸ He further identifies τὸ πρόθυμον with Hesiod's use of ζῆλος, "zealous emulation," in the *Theogony's* account of the Iron Age.⁴³⁹ Hornblower builds on Edmunds' interpretation, translating πρόθυμον in this passage as "passions."⁴⁴⁰ As the third element in the cycle, προθυμία is not the initial cause of civil strife, but rather allows *stasis* to perpetuate itself. Since προθυμία causes *stasis* to continue here, it is a negative quality in this passage.

Thucydides also associates προθυμία with adherence to a particular faction or regime type. When Athens is embroiled in civil strife in book eight, Thucydides identifies multiple individuals who were particularly enthusiastic for

⁴³⁶ T 3.82.8: "The cause of all this was rule through lust for power and ambition, and proceeding from that also was the enthusiasm for strife once men were engaged in it."

⁴³⁷ Huart (1968) 414.

⁴³⁸ Edmunds (1975b) 87-88.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, Hesiod *Theogony* 195-201.

⁴⁴⁰ Hornblower 1 485.

the oligarchy. He calls Pisander most zealous to dissolve democracy: ἦν δὲ ὁ μὲν τὴν γνώμην ταύτην εἰπὼν Πείσανδρος, καὶ τὰλλα ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς προθυμότατα συγκαταλύσας τὸν δῆμον.⁴⁴¹ A little later, Thucydides also

claims that Phrynichus showed superlative zeal for the oligarchy:

παρέσχε δὲ καὶ ὁ Φρύνιχος ἑαυτὸν πάντων διαφερόντως προθυμότατον ἐς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν, δεδιὼς τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην καὶ ἐπιστάμενος εἰδότα αὐτὸν ὅσα ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἀστυόχον ἔπραξε, νομίζων οὐκ ἂν ποτε αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ εἶκός ὑπὲρ ὀλιγαρχίας κατελθεῖν.⁴⁴²

Again, Thucydides links προθυμία with fear, showing that fear can stimulate enthusiasm in various types of situations. Earlier, the Syracusan Athenagoras, who is introduced in a manner similar to Cleon but does not otherwise appear in the narrative,⁴⁴³ accuses the young and powerful of being zealous for the fruits of oligarchy:

ὀλιγαρχία δὲ τῶν μὲν κινδύνων τοῖς πολλοῖς μεταδίδωσι, τῶν δ' ὠφελίμων οὐ πλεονεκτεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξύμπαντ' ἀφελομένη ἔχει· ἃ ὑμῶν οἳ τε δυνάμενοι καὶ οἱ νέοι προθυμοῦνται, ἀδύνατα ἐν μεγάλῃ πόλει κατασχεῖν.⁴⁴⁴

This rhetorical formulation, with προθυμέομαι taking as its objects the benefits that oligarchy keeps to itself, is essentially an expansion of Thucydides' typical phrase with the adjectival form followed by ἐς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν. Thucydides also links προθυμία with the actions of at least one adherent of the democratic party. The faction at Samos sends Chaereas to

⁴⁴¹ T 8.68.1: "Pisander was pronouncing this opinion and in other respects working openly to dissolve the with the greatest enthusiasm."

⁴⁴² T 8.68.3: "Phrynichus was making himself most zealous for the oligarchy differently than everyone, since he feared Alcibiades and knew that man had knowledge of all the things he did in Samos with Astyochus, and he did not consider it likely that Alcibiades would return under oligarchy."

⁴⁴³ Compare T 4.21.2 of Cleon; Hornblower 3 407-408 collects some epigraphical evidence that may relate to the historical Athenagoras.

⁴⁴⁴ T 6.39.2: "Oligarchy gives a share of the risks to many, and it not only grasps after the benefits but also takes and keeps them all, which are what the powerful and young among you are zealous for, though these things are impossible to achieve in a great city."

Athens, a man zealous for the democrats: τὴν δὲ Πάραλον ναῦν καὶ Χαιρέαν ἐπ' αὐτῆς τὸν Ἀρχεστράτου, ἄνδρα Ἀθηναῖον, γενόμενον ἐς τὴν μετάστασιν πρόθυμον.⁴⁴⁵ Here, μετάστασις means the “counter-revolution” that the soldiers at Samos are staging against the oligarchs in Athens,⁴⁴⁶ so phrase is parallel to the more common ‘enthusiastic for the oligarchy.’

Thucydides uses προθυμία and derivatives most commonly in military contexts, but προθυμία also refers to enthusiasm or zeal in a number of important passages that do not directly relate to fighting. Like τόλμα, προθυμία also has a political dimension and can lead to destructive behavior. At the same time, military alliances and society itself cannot function properly without προθυμία. Although Thucydides uses προθυμία in a great variety of contexts, there are three major themes that merit further study. One is the relationship between leadership and προθυμία. One of the most obvious links are the pre-battle exhortations, some of which Thucydides explicitly says were motivated by a desire to promote προθυμία among the men. And yet generals affect the προθυμία of allies and enemies passively as well as actively. Leaders can also help to change the object of προθυμία. Early in the narrative all sides direct their προθυμία toward the war, but Nicias and Pleistoanax redirect their προθυμία toward peace after the setbacks at in Ionia and at Pylos (5.16). A second major theme is the relationship between alliance and προθυμία in the speeches. The examples above show that προθυμία is an integral part of a functional alliance, so it is no surprise that

⁴⁴⁵ T 8.74.1: [They sent] the ship Paralus and Chaereas on it, an Athenian man who had been enthusiastic in the movement.”

⁴⁴⁶ Hornblower 3 974.

speakers commonly refer to the *προθυμία* shown by or for allies. In fact, speakers often try to curry favor by mentioning past *προθυμία* or try to convince their listeners that they will show *προθυμία* in the future. The third notable way Thucydides uses the vocabulary of *προθυμία* is in his account of the war in Sicily. Thucydides' use of *προθυμία* and related words in the narrative allows the reader to trace the rising and falling of the two sides' morale. Furthermore, the appearances of *προθυμία* in the speeches enable Thucydides to comment on and expand the analysis of *προθυμία* that he presents in the narrative. Finally, this chapter focuses on morale in the episode at Pylos. The affair at Pylos begins with a contest of *προθυμία*, which the Lacedaemonians are winning, but the arrival of Demosthenes changes everything. Thucydides, however, shifts from describing Athenian morale in terms of *προθυμία* to using *ῥώμη* and related words. Thus, *προθυμία* is an important part of Thucydides' understanding of morale, but it cannot tell the whole story.

4.2 Leadership and *προθυμία*

Most commonly, Thucydides relates *προθυμία* to war, and the word means something like 'enthusiasm' for fighting. Unsurprisingly, managing and manipulating the *προθυμία* of one's own citizens or soldiers is a frequent concern of leaders. A common manifestation of this concern is a general's pre-battle exhortation aimed at increasing his men's wavering *προθυμία*.⁴⁴⁷ And yet Thucydides also uses *προθυμία* and related words to track the overall

⁴⁴⁷ See Hanson (1998), Clark (1995) 375-376, Pritchett (1994) 27-109, and Hanson (1993) 161-180 for a debate on what form historical speeches by generals before battle might have taken. Whatever their historicity, these speeches form an important and recurring part of Thucydides' narrative.

morale of different cities or confederacies in the war. Table 4.1 also shows that by the end of the Archidamian War both the Athenian and the Lacedaemonian leaders have directed their enthusiasm away from war and towards peace. Unlike Thucydides' account of the Sicilian Expedition, in which Athenian προθυμία falls while Syracusan προθυμία rises, both Athenian and Lacedaemonian προθυμία in the Archidamian War follow similar trajectories as misfortune causes the two sides to change the object of their enthusiasm. Although early Athenian speeches about their προθυμία in the Persian Wars and Archidamus' noted lack of προθυμία initially imply that it is an Athenian quality, Thucydides himself identifies both Lacedaemonian and Corinthian προθυμία. After the disaster at Pylos, the Lacedaemonians channel their remaining προθυμία into the expedition of Brasidas, who makes great use of it among the Athenian allies. After the deaths of Brasidas and Cleon, the leaders of both Athens and Sparta are enthusiastic for peace rather than war (5.16).

Archidamus is the first leader whose relationship to προθυμία Thucydides explores. Archidamus misses some early opportunities and comes under suspicion for not being enthusiastic enough in the lead-up to the war:

αίτιαν τε οὐκ ἐλαχίστην Ἀρχίδαμος ἔλαβεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, δοκῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ ξυναγωγῇ τοῦ πολέμου μαλακὸς εἶναι καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιτήδειος, οὐ παραινῶν προθύμως πολεμεῖν.⁴⁴⁸

This passage, presenting events from the perspective of the Peloponnesian soldiers,⁴⁴⁹ shows that Archidamus was insufficiently zealous in this eyes of

⁴⁴⁸ T 2.18.3: "Archidamus received not the least blame from this, since he seemed soft and friendly toward the Athenians in the lead-up to the war when he did not enthusiastically advise going to war."

⁴⁴⁹ Hornblower 1 272.

Table 4.1 – Leadership and προθυμία

<i>Athenian and Allied Leaders</i>	<i>Lacedaemonian and Allied Leaders</i>
	2.18.3 – Archidamus was very much blamed because of the delay, since even in the lead up to the war he seemed weak and friendly to the Athenians when he did not enthusiastically advocate going to war (προθύμως)
	2.20.4 – Archidamus thought that the Acharnians would not be similarly enthusiastic to risk themselves for the land of others once they were bereft of their own, and then there would be division in the Athenians' opinions (προθύμους)
2.36.4 – [Pericles' Funeral Oration] Not wishing to speak at length on well known matters, I will omit the martial deeds through which we acquired each possession, whether we ourselves or our fathers were enthusiastically repaying a barbarian or Greek aggressor (προθύμως)	
2.64.6 – [speech of Pericles] Looking for honor in the future and no shame in the present, acquire them both with enthusiasm right now; and do not send heralds to the Lacedaemonians or show your suffering openly (προθύμῳ)	
	2.86.6 – Cnemus, Brasidas, and the other commanders called together the troops and, seeing that they were afraid because of the former defeat and not enthusiastic, encouraged them with a speech (προθύμους)
	4.80.5 – The Spartans enthusiastically sent seven hundred helots with Brasidas as hoplites [to Chalcidice], and he recruited the rest of the force from the Peloponnese with money (προθύμως)
	4.81.1 – The Lacedaemonians sent out Brasidas mainly at his own desire, and the Chalcidians also were enthusiastic for him, a man both accounted effective in all respects at Sparta and after he went out proving to be of the most use to the Lacedaemonians (πrouθυμήθησαν)
	4.83.3 – The Chalcidian envoys accompanying Brasidas instructed him not remove sources of anxiety from Perdiccas, so that he would be more enthusiastic when they employed him for their own devices (προθυμοτέρῳ)

Table 4.1 (Continued)	
	4.121.1 – The Scionaeans were elated at his words and all encouraged in a similar manner, even those who before were not pleased with the things being done; and they decided to carry on the war enthusiastically and honor Brasidas in a variety of ways (προθύμως)
	4.124.4 – Perdiccas wanted to advance and attack the villages of Arrhabaeus, but Brasidas was not enthusiastic and wanted instead to withdraw, since he was concerned over Mende if the Athenians should attack and the absence of the Illyrians (πρόθυμος)
5.16.1 – After the deaths of Brasidas and Cleon, who both strongly opposed peace; those most taking care of governance for each state, Pleistoanax, king of Sparta, and Nicias, at that time the most successful general, were much more enthusiastic for peace (προυθυμούντο)	5.16.1 – After the deaths of Brasidas and Cleon, who both strongly opposed peace; those most taking care of governance for each state, Pleistoanax, king of Sparta, and Nicias, at that time the most successful general, were much more enthusiastic for peace (προυθυμούντο)
	5.17.1 – Pleistoanax, the son of Pausanias and king of Sparta, was enthusiastic for a treaty because he was hurt by this particular slander and thought that, in peacetime, nothing would trip him up and with the prisoners recovered he would be unassailable by his enemies, but in wartime, those in power are compelled to suffer slander because of events (προυθυμήθη)
	6.88.10 – The ephors and those in office intended to send ambassadors to Syracuse to prevent them from going over to Athens, but they were not enthusiastic to send assistance, so Alcibiades came forward to inflame and incite the Lacedaemonians (προθύμων)
	6.89.2 – [speech of Alcibiades] Although I was enthusiastic throughout, you provided power to my enemies and dishonor to me by negotiating peace with Athens through them (προθύμου)
	6.92.1 – [speech of Alcibiades] Bringing about any of these things quickly and with enthusiasm is on you, Lacedaemonians, since I am confident that it is quite possible and I do not believe my judgment is wrong (προθυμότερον)

Table 4.1 (Continued)	
	6.92.2 – [speech of Alcibiades] I think I have a right not to seem inferior to any of you nor for my words to be suspected as the enthusiasm of an exile, if once seeming to be a patriot I now forcefully attack my own city together with its greatest enemies (προθυμίαν)
7.86.3 – The other, Nicias, was the most friendly to the Lacedaemonians since he was enthusiastic to let the men from the island free, and persuaded the Athenians to make a treaty (προθυμήθη)	
	8.6.1 – Pharnabazus sent some exiles taking refuge with him to Lacedaemon to procure a fleet for the Hellespont in the hope that he himself could cause the cities in his fief to revolt from Athens and obtain alliance with the Lacedaemonians for the king, just like Tissaphernes was enthusiastic to do (προθυμεῖτο)
	8.12.1 – Alcibiades persuaded the ephors not to shrink from the expedition, saying that they could sail there before the Chians heard about the disaster of the fleet and that he would go to Ionia himself and persuade the cities to revolt by talking about the weakness of Athens and the enthusiasm of the Lacedaemonians (προθυμίαν)
	8.40.3 – When Astyochus saw that the allies were also enthusiastic [to aid Chios], he departed with the fleet to help, although he did not intend it because of the threat (προθύμους)
	8.46.5 – By claiming that the Phoenician fleet would come and they would fight with an advantage, Tissaphernes ruined the Peloponnesian cause and blunted the navy's edge, although it had been in peak shape; and in other ways he joined in the war effort without enthusiasm more openly than could go unnoticed (προθύμως)
	8.52.1 – Alcibiades, since he was contending over serious issues, was devoted to Tissaphernes and flattered him enthusiastically (προθύμως)
	8.99.1 – Meanwhile, Pharnabazus was inviting the Peloponnesian fleet and was zealous to bring them over and cause the rest of the cities in his own sphere of influence to revolt from Athens, just like Tissaphernes (πρόθυμος)

his men. This lack of spirit on the part of their general undermines the troops' morale, although this expedition is not tested by significant Athenian resistance.

And yet, Archidamus himself is following a plan calculated to decrease the προθυμία of a major component of the Athenian citizenry. Just as Thucydides pauses to relate the thoughts and feelings of the Peloponnesian troops in 2.18, he here delves into the mind of their general.⁴⁵⁰ Rather than analyzing his own προθυμία or that of his troops, Archidamus calculates that he can undermine Athenian προθυμία and sow dissension inside the city:

τοὺς γὰρ Ἀχαρνέας ἐστερημένους τῶν σφετέρων οὐχ ὁμοίως
προθύμους ἔσεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων κινδυνεύειν, στάσιν δ'
ἐνέσεσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ.⁴⁵¹

This sophisticated analysis of Athenian προθυμία results in a plan that the troops seem not to have understood, but Archidamus has a particularly keen appreciation for the role of hearts and minds in warfare. Rather than devastating all of Attica, Archidamus tries to undermine Athenian morale by creating divisions between the citizens. He meets with only limited success,⁴⁵² but his appreciation for the mental dimension of war is clear. Most of the predictions and analyses of Archidamus are so well confirmed by later events that Hunter accuses Thucydides of “deriving purposes from results” in this episode to highlight aspects of Athenian and Peloponnesian mass psychology.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵⁰ Hornblower 1 273.

⁴⁵¹ T 2.20.4: “[He thought] that the Acharnians, bereft of their own property, would not be similarly enthusiastic to face danger on behalf of the property of others, and that dissension would be introduced into their minds.”

⁴⁵² Lazenby (2004) 34-35 discusses the failure of Archidamus' attempt to cause disagreement inside Athens and possible motivations besides those given by Thucydides' for the route he chooses during the invasion.

⁴⁵³ Hunter (1973) 20-21, especially n 10.

Pericles also shows concern for προθυμία in the early part of the war, although he talks exclusively about Athenian προθυμία. In the Funeral Oration, Pericles mentions how past and present Athenians acquired the empire by enthusiastically defending themselves:

ὦν ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν κατὰ πολέμους ἔργα, οἷς ἕκαστα ἐκτήθη, ἢ εἴ τι αὐτοὶ ἢ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν βάρβαρον ἢ Ἑλληνα πολέμιον ἐπιόντα προθύμως ἡμυνάμεθα, μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν οὐ βουλόμενος ἑάσω.⁴⁵⁴

Pericles dispenses quickly with the praise of Athens' victories over the Persians and others that is typical of this kind of speech,⁴⁵⁵ but he encapsulates it in the phrase 'fought for themselves enthusiastically' (προθύμως ἡμυνάμεθα). Pericles even doubly emphasizes the defensive nature of the wars with the words 'attacking enemy' (πολέμιον ἐπιόντα). The unnamed Athenian, the Plataeans, and Euphemus also talk in similar terms about προθυμία shown in the Persian Wars.⁴⁵⁶

After the plague ruins Athenian προθυμία, Pericles attempts to reverse the decline in morale with his final speech in the *Histories*. The climax of the speech asks Athenians to show προθυμία and not to reveal their difficulties to the Lacedaemonians:

ὕμεῖς δὲ ἔς τε τὸ μέλλον καλὸν προγνόντες ἔς τε τὸ αὐτίκα μὴ αἰσχρὸν τῷ ἤδη προθύμῳ ἀμφοτέρω κτήσασθε, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις μήτε ἐπικηρυκεύεσθε μήτε ἔνδηλοι ἔστε τοῖς παροῦσι πόνοις βαρυνόμενοι, ὥς οἵτινες πρὸς τὰς ξυμφορὰς γνώμη μὲν ἥκιστα λυποῦνται, ἔργῳ δὲ μάλιστα ἀντέχουσιν, οὗτοι καὶ πόλεων καὶ ἰδιωτῶν κράτιστοί εἰσιν.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁴ T 2.36.4: "Not wishing to speak at length among those who know, I will pass by those men's martial deeds, by which they acquired each [part of the empire], whether we ourselves or our fathers were defending ourselves enthusiastically against a barbarian or Greek aggressor."

⁴⁵⁵ Rusten (1990) 141-142.

⁴⁵⁶ T 1.74.1, 1.74.2, 1.75.1; 3.55.3, 3.56.5; 6.83.1.

⁴⁵⁷ T 2.64.6: "Recognizing beforehand what is noble for the future and not shameful in the present, acquire them both with enthusiasm right now, and do not send heralds to the

Although the Athenian public is still somewhat hostile to Pericles, this speech becomes the prime example of Pericles influencing public opinion as Thucydides describes at 2.65.9. Pericles is much more successful at raising Athenian morale than at mitigating the Athenians' anger against him, and Westlake argues that Pericles showed considerable bravery by supporting the war so vehemently when public opinion was against it.⁴⁵⁸ This type of speech by a leader who notices low morale and attempts to increase προθυμία also recalls the very common appearance of προθυμία words in generals' pre-battle exhortations.

Thucydides also repeatedly links the Spartan Brasidas with προθυμία. Brasidas not only manages προθυμία actively, his reputation enables his mere presence to instill it in allies. Nevertheless, he has trouble controlling Perdiccas and the other northerners. Thucydides first mentions Brasidas worrying about his men's προθυμία before the second battle of Naupactus, and this is a typical example of soldiers' lack of enthusiasm motivating a general's exhortation: ὁρῶντες αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς διὰ τὴν προτέραν ἦσαν φοβουμένους καὶ οὐ προθύμους ὄντας παρεκελεύσαντο καὶ ἔλεξαν τοιάδε.⁴⁵⁹ Here, Thucydides likens being fearful to lacking προθυμία, so φόβος can sometimes undermine προθυμία but stimulate it at other times. This exhortation is less than successful, since the Peloponnesian sailors have low morale in the subsequent battle.

Lacedaemonians or show yourselves weighed down by the present troubles; for whichever men are least hurt mentally in the face of misfortunes and most actually endure are the mightiest both as cities and as individuals."

⁴⁵⁸ Westlake (1968) 37.

⁴⁵⁹ T 2.86.6: "Seeing many of them afraid because of the former defeat and not enthusiastic, they encouraged them and said something like the following."

Later, Brasidas has more success, even managing to instill προθυμία in the Lacedaemonians after the disaster at Pylos. By advancing a plan that involved the removal of Helot warriors from the homeland, Brasidas received an enthusiastic response to at least some of his actions: καὶ τότε προθύμως τῷ Βρασίδῃ αὐτῶν ξυνέπεμψαν ἑπτακοσίους ὀπλίτας, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου μισθῷ πείσας ἐξήγαγεν.⁴⁶⁰ Thucydides has just finished explaining the anxieties that the restive Helot population caused the Lacedaemonians, making it clear that Brasidas has based his planning on a rational appraisal of Lacedaemonian wishes and fears. Furthermore,

Thucydides adds that Brasidas is also instilling enthusiasm in the Chalcidians: αὐτόν τε Βρασίδαν βουλόμενον μάλιστα Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀπέστειλαν (πrouθυμήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Χαλκιδῆς), ἄνδρα ἔν τε τῇ Σπάρτῃ δοκοῦντα δραστήριον εἶναι ἐς τὰ πάντα καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐξῆλθε πλείστου ἄξιον Λακεδαιμονίοις γενόμενον.⁴⁶¹

Hornblower notes the repetition of προθυμία here as way way to prepare the reader for Brasidas to be “dynamic and positive.”⁴⁶² Indeed, this chapter powerfully communicates to the reader that Brasidas is an important leader at this time and that the reactions he inspires from the cities in the north will be of great significance.⁴⁶³ Furthermore, the rest of 4.81 shows that Brasidas has long lasting positive effects on the morale of those sympathetic to the Peloponnesian cause.

⁴⁶⁰ T 4.80.5: “They enthusiastically sent out seven hundred of [the Helots] as hoplites with Brasidas, and he lead out others from the Peloponnese persuading them with pay.”

⁴⁶¹ T 4.81.1: “The Lacedaemonians sent out Brasidas mostly at his own wish (but the Chalcidians were also enthusiastic for him), a man reputed at Sparta to be effective in all respects and, after he went out, a man of the most worth to the Lacedaemonians, too.”

⁴⁶² Hornblower 2 267.

⁴⁶³ Connor (1984) 131.

The prime example of Brasidas eliciting προθυμία occurs at Scione. Brasidas convinces the Scionaeans to fight more enthusiastically, and they also honor him personally:

καὶ οἱ μὲν Σκιωναῖοι ἐπήρθησάν τε τοῖς λόγοις καὶ θαρσήσαντες πάντες ὁμοίως, καὶ οἷς πρότερον μὴ ἤρεσκε τὰ πρασσόμενα, τὸν τε πόλεμον διεννοοῦντο προθύμως οἷσιν καὶ τὸν Βρασίδαν τὰ τ' ἄλλα καλῶς ἐδέξαντο καὶ δημοσίᾳ μὲν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀνέδησαν ὥς ἐλευθεροῦντα τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐταίνιουν τε καὶ προσήρχοντο ὥσπερ ἀθλητῇ.⁴⁶⁴

Brasidas clearly has the ability to raise his listeners' morale, as Thucydides triply emphasizes with ἐπήρθησάν, θαρσήσαντες, and προθύμως. The verb θαρσέω partially overlaps in meaning with προθυμία, but Thucydides links προθυμία more closely with the Scionaeans' commitment to the war while θαρσέω seems to describe their confidence more generally. In addition, Connor argues that the third word, ἐπήρθησάν, expresses not just confidence but the kind of overconfidence that leads to disaster, which does in fact happen to Scione when the Athenians respond to the revolt.⁴⁶⁵ Brasidas is more effective at rallying support for the 'freeing Greece' than actually defending his new allies.

Although Brasidas has great success manipulating the προθυμία of Greek cities, he is less able to control the enthusiasm of his Macedonian ally, Perdiccas. Before he departs, some Chalcidean ambassadors warn Brasidas not to please Perdiccas too much so he stays enthusiastic: καὶ οἱ Χαλκιδέων πρέσβεις συμπαρόντες ἐδίδασκον αὐτὸν μὴ ὑπεξελεῖν τῷ Περδίκκᾳ τὰ

⁴⁶⁴ T 4.121.1: "The Scionaeans were inflamed by his words and, gaining confidence all alike, even those who were formerly not pleased with what was being done, they decided that they would carry on the war enthusiastically. They also entertained Brasidas nobly in other ways and presented him publicly with a gold crown as the liberator of Hellas, and privately they were decking him with garlands and going up to him like an athlete." See Hornblower 2 380-385 for the translation of προσήρχοντο as "go to, approach."

⁴⁶⁵ Connor (1984) 135-136.

δεινά, ἵνα προθυμότερῳ ἔχοιεν καὶ ἐς τὰ ἑαυτῶν χρήσθαι.⁴⁶⁶ Here fear, expressed by τὰ δεινά rather than φόβος, is thought to increase προθυμία. Thus, a little apprehension can increase enthusiasm for fighting. And yet Brasidas later fails to show προθυμία for Perdiccas because of his own worries over Mende. Perdiccas wants to attack another leader's villages, but Brasidas is unenthusiastic because he thinks the Athenians might attack

Mende:

ἔπειτα ὁ Περδίκκας ἐβούλετο προΐεναι ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ Ἀρραβαίου κώμας καὶ μὴ καθῆσθαι, Βρασίδης δὲ τῆς τε Μένδης περιορώμενος, μὴ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρότερον ἐπιπλευσάντων τι πάθῃ, καὶ ἅμα τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν οὐ παρόντων, οὐ πρόθυμος ἦν, ἀλλὰ ἀναχωρεῖν μάλλον.⁴⁶⁷

Thus, the anxiety (περιορώμενος) of Brasidas undermines his προθυμία.

Brasidas may also hold back because of the earlier advice about not acceding to Perdiccas. In that case, Thucydides describes a strange situation in which Brasidas shows less προθυμία in order to get Perdiccas to show more.

Furthermore, Brasidas alienates Perdiccas and lets Mende get taken by the Athenians during the expedition against Arrhabaeus. This conspicuous failure allows causes the reader to react differently the Greeks' reactions to Brasidas, as recorded by Thucydides. As the Greeks in the north respond more enthusiastically and lavishly to Brasidas, the reader gains "a greater awareness of the ambiguity of Brasidas' actions and of the danger of his appeals."⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁶ T 4.83.3: "The Chalcidean ambassadors present instructed him not drive away Perdiccas' sources of anxiety, so that he would be able to employ a man with more enthusiasm for his own devices."

⁴⁶⁷ T 4.124.4: "Then Perdiccas wanted to advance against the villages of Arrabaeus and not encamp, but Brasidas, watching over Mende so it would not suffer anything if the Athenians sailed against it first, and also since the Illyrians were not present, was not enthusiastic but wanted instead to withdraw."

⁴⁶⁸ Connor (1984) 139.

And yet leaders do not have προθυμία exclusively for war. After the deaths of Brasidas and Cleon, Pleistoanax and Nicias gain preeminence.

These two men, each for his own reasons, help turn their cities' προθυμία toward peace and conclude a treaty:

τότε δὴ ἑκατέρῃ τῇ πόλει σπεύδοντες τὰ μάλιστα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Πλειστοάναξ τε ὁ Πausανίου βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου, πλείστα τῶν τότε εὖ φερόμενος ἐν στρατηγίαις, πολλῷ δὴ μᾶλλον προυθυμοῦντο, Νικίας μὲν βουλόμενος, ἐν ᾧ ἀπαθὴς ἦν καὶ ἡξιούτο, διασώσασθαι τὴν εὐτυχίαν, καὶ ἕς τε τὸ αὐτίκα πόνων πεπαῦσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς πολίτας παῦσαι καὶ τῷ μέλλοντι χρόνῳ καταλιπεῖν ὄνομα ὡς οὐδὲν σφήλας τὴν πόλιν διεγένετο, νομίζων ἐκ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου τοῦτο συμβαίνειν καὶ ὅστις ἐλάχιστα τύχῃ αὐτὸν παραδίδωσι, τὸ δὲ ἀκίνδυνον τὴν εἰρήνην παρέχειν, Πλειστοάναξ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διαβαλλόμενος περὶ τῆς καθόδου, καὶ ἕς ἐνθυμίαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις αἰεὶ προβαλλόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὁπότε τι ππαίσειαν, ὡς διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου κάθοδον παρανομηθεῖσαν ταῦτα συμβαίνοι.⁴⁶⁹

Although the phrase πολλῷ δὴ μᾶλλον προυθυμοῦντο is difficult, since this is the first explicit mention of Nicias and Pleistoanax having προθυμία to make peace, it must elliptically mean something like “they were [keen before and] even keener now.”⁴⁷⁰ Thus, this phase of the war ends with both sides desiring a cessation of hostilities on similar terms. This contrasts with the end of the Sicilian Expedition, since the morale of the two sides in the Archidamian War follows a similar trajectory.

⁴⁶⁹ 5.16.1: “The foremost candidates for power in either city, Pleistoanax, son of Pausanias, king of Lacedaemon, and Nicias, son of Niceratus, the most fortunate general of his time, each desired peace more enthusiastically than ever. Nicias, while still happy and honored, wished to secure his good fortune, to obtain a present release from trouble for himself and his countrymen, and hand down to posterity a name as an ever-successful statesman, and thought the way to do this was to keep out of danger and commit himself as little as possible to fortune, and that peace alone made this keeping out of danger possible. Pleistoanax, again, was assailed by his enemies for his restoration, and regularly held up by them to the prejudice of his countrymen, upon every reverse that befell them, as though his unjust restoration were the cause” (adapted from Crawley’s translation).

⁴⁷⁰ Hornblower 2 463.

In a highly artful chapter relating the execution of Nicias,⁴⁷¹ Thucydides explains the general's προθυμία at the end of the Archidamian War in slightly different terms than at 5.16. Because the first part of the passage has a Lacedaemonian focalization, with the thoughts and wishes of Gylippus in the foreground,⁴⁷² Thucydides says that Nicias had προθυμία for releasing the men from the island rather than concluding the treaty: τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἄνδρας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Νικίας προθυμήθη, σπονδὰς πείσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ποιήσασθαι, ὥστε ἀφεθῆναι.⁴⁷³ For this reason, Thucydides calls Nicias the 'most friendly' (ἐπιτηδεϊότατον) of the Athenians to the Lacedaemonians.⁴⁷⁴

After his arrival in the Peloponnese, Alcibiades joins the Corinthians and Syracusans in urging the Lacedaemonians to intervene in Sicily.⁴⁷⁵ He gives a speech dealing extensively with both his own and Peloponnesian προθυμία to counteract the lack of προθυμία among the Lacedaemonian leaders:

καὶ διανοομένων τῶν τε ἐφόρων καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει ὄντων
πρέσβεις πέμπειν ἐς Συρακούσας κωλύοντας μὴ ξυμβαίνειν
Ἀθηναίοις, βοηθεῖν δὲ οὐ προθύμων ὄντων, παρελθὼν ὁ
Ἀλκιβιάδης παρώξυνέ τε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ἐξώρμησε
λέγων τοιάδε.⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷¹ Hornblower 3 738, who also collects some bibliography on why Demosthenes is mentioned only briefly while Nicias gets a proper assessment.

⁴⁷² Hornblower 3 739.

⁴⁷³ T 7.86.3: "Nicias had been enthusiastic to get the Lacedaemonian men from the island freed, since he persuaded the Athenians to make peace."

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁵ Westlake (1968) 228 argues that Alcibiades was probably alone in urging a Lacedaemonian commander be sent, while the Syracusans and Corinthians probably requested more general military aid. In the event, the effectiveness of Gylippus, who seems to have been sent especially at Alcibiades' urging, benefitted the Syracusans greatly (see below).

⁴⁷⁶ T 6.88.10: "When the ephors and those in power were planning to send ambassadors to Syracuse to hinder them from going over to the Athenians but were not enthusiastic to send

This fits the common pattern, identified above, of a leader noticing a lack of προθυμία and giving a speech, although it happens more commonly with a general and his troops. Right after his initial defection, Alcibiades vigorously acts to promote the morale and enthusiasm of his new allies. First, Alcibiades attempts to prove that he had προθυμία for Lacedaemonian interests during the negotiations to end the Archidamian War:

καὶ διατελοῦντός μου προθύμου ὑμεῖς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους
καταλασσόμενοι τοῖς μὲν ἐμοῖς ἐχθροῖς δύναμιν δι' ἐκείνων
πράξαντες, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀτιμίαν περιέθετε.⁴⁷⁷

Although Thucydides does not record what role Alcibiades played, Alcibiades himself claims to have shown enthusiasm but been scorned. This forms the first part of a λῦσις διαβολῆς, dealing with the past, in which Alcibiades attempts to put to rest any grievances the Lacedaemonians have against him.⁴⁷⁸

Alcibiades later shifts his focus to the Lacedaemonians' προθυμία. He reassures them that his strategic advice is sound, and claims that everything depends on quick and enthusiastic action:

γίγνεσθαι δέ τι αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τάχει καὶ προθυμότερον ἐν ὑμῖν
ἐστίν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ ὥς γε δυνατὰ (καὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεσθαι
οἶμαι γνώμης) πάνυ θαρσῶ.⁴⁷⁹

Just as at Athens, Alcibiades is able to capitalize on his own προθυμία and elicit it from his audience.⁴⁸⁰ Here, however, Alcibiades advocates action that

help, Alcibiades came up and both goaded and incited the Lacedaemonians by saying something like the following.”

⁴⁷⁷ T 6.89.2: “Although I was continuously enthusiastic, you gave power to my greatest enemies and dishonor to me by doing things through those men when you were negotiating with the Athenians.”

⁴⁷⁸ Hornblower 3 511.

⁴⁷⁹ T 6.92.1: “That any of these things come about quickly and with enthusiasm is on you, Lacedaemonians, since I am quite confident that they are possible (and I am not often mistaken in my opinion).”

⁴⁸⁰ See section 4.4 for more Alcibiades' role in increasing Athenian προθυμία for the expedition to Sicily.

turns out to be as rational and effective as he claims, and Thucydides gives Alcibiades a major role in motivating the Lacedaemonians at this point in the war.

After giving advice on how to fight Athens, Alcibiades returns to his λῦσις διαβολῆς, this time talking about the present.⁴⁸¹ Here, he tries to justify his actions and defend himself against the charge of showing an exile's προθυμία, a unique phrase in Thucydides:

Καὶ χείρων οὐδενὶ ἀξιῷ δοκεῖν ὑμῶν εἶναι, εἰ τῇ ἑμαυτοῦ μετὰ τῶν πολεμιωτάτων φιλόπολις ποτε δοκῶν εἶναι νῦν ἐγκρατῶς ἐπέρχομαι, οὐδὲ ὑποπτεύεσθαι μου ἐς τὴν φυγαδικὴν προθυμίαν τὸν λόγον φυγὰς τε γάρ εἰμι τῆς τῶν ἐξελασάντων πονηρίας, καὶ οὐ τῆς ὑμετέρας, ἣν πείθησθέ μοι, ὠφελίας· καὶ πολεμιώτεροι οὐχ οἱ τοὺς πολεμίους που βλάψαντες ὑμεῖς ἢ οἱ τοὺς φίλους ἀναγκάσαντες πολεμίους γενέσθαι.⁴⁸²

This argument results in some rather sophistic verbal gymnastics as he justifies providing significant help to his homeland's greatest enemy as 'patriotism' because of its wicked leaders.⁴⁸³ Furthermore, Alcibiades seems like a narcissist throughout this speech, since he concentrates so much on himself and his own προθυμία while ostensibly talking about the Lacedaemonians' war effort.⁴⁸⁴ Nevertheless, Alcibiades presents a convincing analysis of the military situation, Thucydides makes it clear that he fundamentally changed the attitude of the Lacedaemonians.⁴⁸⁵ That is, Alcibiades was successful at manipulating the Lacedaemonians' προθυμία

⁴⁸¹ See Hornblower 3 511 for a more lengthy discussion of ring composition in this speech.

⁴⁸² T 6.92.2-3: "Meanwhile I hope that none of you will think any the worse of me if after having hitherto passed as a lover of my country, I now actively join its worst enemies in attacking it, or will suspect what I say as the fruit of an exile's enthusiasm. I am an outlaw from the iniquity of those who drove me forth, not, if you will be guided by me, from your service; my worst enemies are not you who only harmed your foes, but they who forced their friends to become enemies" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

⁴⁸³ Hornblower 3 516 calls it a "forced and arrogant conceit."

⁴⁸⁴ Compare his arguments that his personal glory brings glory to Athens (T 6.16.2-3).

⁴⁸⁵ Westlake (1968) 230.

because of the clever and persuasive way he presented himself and his military recommendations.

Alcibades continues to incite the Lacedaemonians after the end of the Sicilian Expedition, starting with his leading role in the first revolts of Athenian allies in Ionia. Alcibiades convinces Endius and the Lacedaemonian ephors that he can make the Athenian allies in Ionia revolt despite the Athenian blockade of the Peloponnesian fleet:

λέγων ὅτι φθήσονται τε πλεύσαντες πρὶν τὴν τῶν νεῶν συμφορὰν Χίους αἰσθέσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ὅταν προσβάλῃ Ἴωνίᾳ, ῥαδίως πείσειν τὰς πόλεις ἀφίστασθαι τὴν τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων λέγων ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων προθυμίαν.⁴⁸⁶

Thucydides does not explicitly vouch for the effect Alcibiades' words have on Lacedaemonian προθυμία, but Alcibiades convinces the Lacedaemonian leaders that his words about their enthusiasm can cause the Ionians to revolt from Athens. Indeed, Alcibiades' success in causing the revolt of Chios and other places confirms his rhetorical prowess, especially since he brings insignificant military power with him.⁴⁸⁷

Alcibiades greatly diminishes in power among the Persians, although he still tries to manipulate προθυμία. When the Athenian oligarchs are trying to come to an agreement with the Persians, Alcibiades devotes himself to flattering Tissaphernes: καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδης, ἅτε περὶ μεγάλων ἀγωνιζόμενος, προθύμως τὸν Τισσαφέρνην θεραπεύων προσέκειτο.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁶ T 8.12.1: "Saying that they could sail and arrive before the Chians heard about the misfortune of the ships and that he himself would easily persuade the cities, whenever he landed in Ionia, to revolt by speaking of the weakness of the Athenians and the enthusiasm of the Lacedaemonians."

⁴⁸⁷ Westlake (1968) 233-5, also arguing that rivalry between Agis and Alcibiades greatly complicates the Peloponnesian attempts to campaign in Ionia.

⁴⁸⁸ T 8.52.1: "Alcibiades, since he was contending of serious matters, enthusiastically applied himself to flattering Tissaphernes."

Weslake argues that Alcibiades had only marginal influence over Tissaphernes, and the extent to which Alcibiades had any chance of convincing Tissaphernes to ally with Athens is exaggerated.⁴⁸⁹ In any case, Alcibiades no longer seems to have the ability to influence προθυμία through his rhetorical prowess and personal charm. Instead, Thucydides recounts how the Persian leaders were active in analyzing and showing προθυμία themselves.

Early in book eight, Thucydides makes it clear that the enthusiasm of different powerful Persians will increasingly influence the course of the war. Pharnabazus sends some Greek exiles to Lacedaemon to secure a fleet for the Hellespont, but Thucydides elaborates further on his aims:

καὶ αὐτός, εἰ δύναιτο, ἅπερ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης προυθυμεῖτο, τάς τε ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῇ πόλεις ἀποστήσειε τῶν Ἀθηναίων διὰ τοὺς φόρους καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεῖ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ποιήσειεν.⁴⁹⁰

Although Thucydides does not mention it here, the implied προθυμία of Pharnabazus consists of substantial amounts of money sent with his envoys.⁴⁹¹ And yet the Lacedaemonians choose to aid the Chian revolt instead but scale back the expedition and change the commander after an earthquake.⁴⁹²

Later, Tissaphernes has enticed the Peloponnesians into alliance with the promise of a Phoenician fleet. He shows, however, a distinct lack of

⁴⁸⁹ Westlake (1968) 247-248, who also argues that the whole episode of Alcibiades contesting with Phrynichus to give advice receives attention greater than its historical significance.

⁴⁹⁰ T 8.6.1: "And himself, if he were able, cause the cities in his sphere of influence to revolt from the Athenians because of the tribute and make an alliance with the Lacedaemonians for the king by himself, just like Tissaphernes was enthusiastic to do."

⁴⁹¹ Hornblower 3 775-776.

⁴⁹² T 8.6.4-6.

προθυμία and hinders the Peloponnesian war effort at the advice of

Alcibiades:

τῷ γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ διὰ ταῦτα ὥς εὖ περὶ τούτων παραινοῦντι
προσθεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἐς πίστιν τὴν τε τροφὴν κακῶς ἐπόριζε τοῖς
Πελοποννησίοις καὶ ναυμαχεῖν οὐκ εἶα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς Φοινίσσας
φάσκων ναῦς ἥξειν καὶ ἐκ περιόντος ἀγωνιεῖσθαι ἔφθειρε τὰ
πράγματα καὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ αὐτῶν ἀφείλετο γενομένην
καὶ πάνυ ἰσχυράν, τὰ τε ἄλλα καταφανέστερον ἢ ὥστε λανθάνειν
οὐ προθύμως ξυνεπολέμει.⁴⁹³

This is a clear example of how an ally's lack of προθυμία can hinder an entire confederacy. The exact chronology is vague, but this interference on the part of Tissaphernes is clearly a long and ongoing process, as the repeated imperfect verbs show.⁴⁹⁴ Finally, Tissaphernes' deficient enthusiasm causes

the Peloponnesians to look to Pharnabazus, since he is more enthusiastic:

Φαρνάβαζός τε ἐπεκαλεῖτο αὐτοὺς καὶ ἦν πρόθυμος κομίσας τὰς
ναῦς καὶ αὐτὸς τὰς λοιπὰς ἔτι πόλεις τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς
ἀποστήσαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων.⁴⁹⁵

As προθυμία rises and falls and alliances shift, Thucydides shows that the various Persian leaders have major effects on Peloponnesian morale in the naval campaign. Alcibiades also continues to play a role, although he acts on individual Persians rather than the Lacedaemonians as a whole.

Although the general normally attempts to instill enthusiasm, but the process can happen in reverse. The Spartan Astyochus rushes to help Chios despite threatening not to do so because of the enthusiasm of his allies: ὁ δὲ

⁴⁹³ T 8.46.5: "He now gave his confidence to Alcibiades in recognition of his good advice, and kept the Peloponnesians short of money, and would not let them fight at sea, but ruined their cause by pretending that the Phoenician fleet would arrive, and that they would thus be enabled to contend with the odds in their favour, and so made their navy lose its efficiency, which had been very remarkable, and generally betrayed a lack of enthusiasm in the war that was too plain to be mistaken" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

⁴⁹⁴ Hornblower 3 891.

⁴⁹⁵ T 8.99.1: "Pharnabazus both called on them and was enthusiastic himself to cause the rest of the cities in his sphere of influence to revolt from the Athenians."

Ἀστύοχος καίπερ οὐ διανοούμενος διὰ τὴν τότε ἀπειλήν, ὥς ἔώρα καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους προθύμους ὄντας, ὥρμητο ἐς τὸ βοηθεῖν.⁴⁹⁶ Yet again, Thucydides links προθυμία to the verb ὁρμάω. In addition, Westlake uses this episode, and especially his failure actually to sail to Chios, as evidence that Astyochus lacked the strength of character to command effectively and even wanted to hand over his authority.⁴⁹⁷ Hornblower, however, raises the possibility that Thucydides may have wanted to give Astyochus some credit here for taking account of his allies state of mind. Indeed, disregarding the προθυμία of his allies would likely have been problematic for Astyochus, either because they would lose their enthusiasm or turn elsewhere for help.

4.3 Alliance and προθυμία

As Table 4.2 shows, speakers throughout the *Histories* refer to προθυμία shown toward allies in the past to engender goodwill among members of another city or exhort current and potential allies to show προθυμία in the future. A good alliance is characterized by προθυμία,⁴⁹⁸ so past and future προθυμία are of great concern to speakers dealing with intercity relations. Early in Thucydides' narrative, the actions of the Greek confederates against Persia are the prototypical case of προθυμία in support of allies. As mentioned above, προθυμία can sometimes be translated as 'patriotism,' especially when it is used to describe action in the Persian

⁴⁹⁶ T 8.40.3: "Astyochus, although he did not intend to because of the threat at that time, when he saw even the allies were enthusiastic, he rushed to help."

⁴⁹⁷ Westlake (1968) 297-298.

⁴⁹⁸ See, for instance, the clauses stipulating that προθυμία must be shown in the treaties that ended the Archidamian War (5.23.1, 5.23.2).

Table 4.2 – Alliance and προθυμία

<i>References to future prothumia for allies</i>	<i>Claims of prothumia already shown for allies</i>
1.71.6 – [speech of the Corinthians] If you are willing to show enthusiasm, we will stand by you, since we would not do the pious thing by changing our allegiance and would not likely find others more congenial (προθύμων)	
	1.74.1 – [speech of an Athenian] Since this was the result and it is abundantly clear that the Hellenic cause depended on the fleet, we provided the three most useful things to it: the greatest number of ships, the most intelligent general, and a most unshrinking enthusiasm (προθυμίαν)
	1.74.2 – [speech of an Athenian] And we also showed by far the most daring enthusiasm, we who, although no one was helping us and men up to our borders were already enslaved, leaving our city and destroying our homes, decided not to betray the common cause of our remaining allies (προθυμίαν)
	1.75.1 – [speech of an Athenian] Surely, Lacedaemonians, on account of our enthusiasm and the intelligence of our judgment at that time we deserve for the Greeks not to begrudge the empire that we have (προθυμίας)
	1.92.1 – At this time, the Lacedaemonians for the most part had friendly feelings toward the Athenians because of the enthusiasm they showed against the Mede (προθυμίαν)
	2.71.3 – [speech of the Plataeans] Your fathers gave us these privileges because of our virtue and enthusiasm during those dangers, but you do the opposite, since you come with our greatest enemies to enslave us (προθυμίας)
	3.10.4 – [speech of Mytilenian envoys] As long as the Athenians led the alliance fairly, we followed with enthusiasm; but when we saw them giving up hostilities with the Mede and pursuing the enslavement of their allies, we began to be fearful (προθύμως)
3.13.7 – [speech of Mytilenian envoys] If you help us enthusiastically, you will add to your side a city with a large navy, which you especially lack; and you will more easily overthrow Athens by depriving her of allies, since every city will come to your side more boldly (προθύμως)	

Table 4.2 (Continued)	
	3.55.3 – [speech of the Plataeans] The Athenians helped us against Thebes when you held back, and it is no longer honorable to betray them, especially since being well treated and asking ourselves we became their allies and received a share of citizenship; instead, it is seemly to come to their call enthusiastically (προθύμως)
	3.56.5 – [speech of the Plataeans] It is just to weigh our enthusiasm against Xerxes then against our transgression now, if indeed we did transgress (προθυμίαν)
	3.57.4 – [speech of the Plataeans] We Plataeans, enthusiastic beyond our power for the Greeks, are pushed away by all, alone and dishonored; and none of our allies from before is any use, and we fear you, Lacedaemonians, our only hope, will not be dependable (πρόθυμοι)
	3.59.4 – [speech of the Plataeans] We beseech you, Lacedaemonians, not to give up to Thebans, their most hated enemies, the Plataeans, the most zealous for the Greeks, suppliants from your hands and trust; but be our saviors and do not destroy us while freeing the other Greeks (προθυμότατοι)
	3.62.5 – [speech of the Thebans] Fighting and beating the Athenians at Coroneia we freed Boeotia, and now we are enthusiastically helping to free the rest of Greece, providing horses and a force as big as no other ally (προθύμως)
	3.67.6 – [speech of the Thebans] So, Lacedaemonians, defend the law of the Greeks transgressed by these men, and to us who were wronged grant just rewards for the enthusiasm which we have shown (πρόθυμοι)
	4.61.4 – [speech of Hermocrates] The Athenians showed their ambition recently in the appeal of the Chalcidians, since the Chalcidians never helped them as allies, but the Athenians enthusiastically provided more than the treaty called for (προθύμως)

Table 4.2 (Continued)	
5.23.1 – [Treaty of Athens and Sparta] If some enemy attacks the land of the Lacedaemonians and does them harm, the Athenians will help the Lacedaemonians in whatever way they can as effectively as possible; and if anyone ravages the land and leaves, that city is the enemy of the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians and will suffer at the hands of both until both cities call off hostilities together. These things are to be done justly, with enthusiasm, and without guile (προθύμως)	
5.23.2 – [Treaty of Athens and Sparta] If some enemy attacks the land of the Athenians and does them harm, the Lacedaemonians will help the Athenians in whatever way they can as effectively as possible; and if anyone ravages the land and leaves, that city is the enemy of the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians and will suffer at the hands of both until both cities call off hostilities together. These things are to be done justly, with enthusiasm, and without guile (προθύμως)	
	6.83.1 – [speech of Euphemus] For these reasons, we deserve to rule: because we provided the biggest fleet and enthusiasm for the Greeks without pretext, and because those doing so even for the Medes harmed us; and we are also aiming at strength against the Peloponnesians (προθυμίαν)

Wars.⁴⁹⁹ Because of the Athenians' early descriptions of their own προθυμία against the Persians, it seems initially to be an exclusively Athenian trait. The Athenians at Sparta during the first congress of the Peloponnesians claim προθυμία as the third of their great contributions to the Greek war effort, and the tricolon crescendo in their explanations of these contributions shows that they regard προθυμία as the most important:

τοιούτου μέντοι τούτου ξυμβάντος, καὶ σαφῶς δηλωθέντος ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ πράγματα ἐγένετο, τρία τὰ ὠφελιμώτατα ἐς αὐτὸ παρεσχόμεθα, ἀριθμὸν τε νεῶν πλείστον καὶ ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν ξυνετώτατον καὶ προθυμίαν ἀοκνοτάτην·

⁴⁹⁹ Crawley translates προθυμία at 1.74.1-2, 1.92.1, and other places this way.

ναῦς μέν γε ἐς τὰς τετρακοσίας ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους τῶν δύο μοιρῶν, Θεμιστοκλέα δὲ ἄρχοντα, ὃς αἰτιώτατος ἐν τῷ στενῷ ναυμαχῆσαι ἐγένετο, ὅπερ σαφέστατα ἔσωσε τὰ πράγματα, καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦτο ὑμεῖς ἐτιμήσατε μάλιστα δὴ ἄνδρα ξένον τῶν ὡς ὑμᾶς ἐλθόντων· προθυμίαν δὲ καὶ πολὺ τολμηροτάτην ἐδείξαμεν, οἳ γε, ἐπειδὴ ἡμῖν κατὰ γῆν οὐδεὶς ἐβόηθει, τῶν ἄλλων ἤδη μέχρι ἡμῶν δουλευόντων ἠξιώσαμεν ἐκλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ οἰκεία διαφθείραντες μὴδ' ὥς τὸ τῶν περιλοιπῶν ξυμμάχων κοινὸν προλιπεῖν μὴδὲ σκεδασθέντες ἀχρεῖοι αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰς ναῦς κινδυνεῦσαι καὶ μὴ ὀργισθῆναι ὅτι ἡμῖν οὐ προουτιμωρήσατε.⁵⁰⁰

The contribution of ships receives little explanation, the intelligent generalship of Themistocles is treated at more length, but the weight is clearly on the προθυμία that the Athenians showed by abandoning their city and resisting the invasion even though their own homes had been occupied. In addition, the Athenians' προθυμία is qualified by two different superlative adjectives: ἀοκνοτάτην, most unshrinking, and τολμηροτάτην, most daring. Both adjectives emphasize the Athenians' willingness to face the seemingly insurmountable Persian forces, and the description of those who submitted to the Persians as 'already serving as slaves' as well as the lack of military support from anyone else gives this speech a moralistic tone.⁵⁰¹ The Athenians do not, however, claim to have shown *andreia* against the Persians,

⁵⁰⁰ T 1.74.1-2: "Such, then, was the result of the matter, and it was clearly proved that it was on the fleet of Hellas that her cause depended. Well, to this result we contributed three very useful elements: the largest number of ships, the ablest commander, and the most unhesitating enthusiasm. Our contingent of ships was little less than two-thirds of the whole four hundred; the commander was Themistocles, through whom chiefly it was that the battle took place in the straits, the acknowledged salvation of our cause. Indeed, this was the reason of your receiving him with honors such as had never been accorded to any foreign visitor. While for daring enthusiasm we had no competitors. Receiving no reinforcements from behind, seeing everything in front of us already subjugated, we had the spirit, after abandoning our city, after sacrificing our property (instead of deserting the remainder of the league or depriving them of our services by dispersing), to throw ourselves into our ships and meet the danger, without a thought of resenting your neglect to assist us" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

⁵⁰¹ There are numerous examples in Herodotus of subjection to a foreign power being referred to as "enslavement," e.g. Herodotus 1.94.7, 1.169.2, 6.32.1, 7.108.1, 7.235.3, among many others.

both because it might have offended the mostly hostile audience and because abandoning one's city runs counter to the traditional view of *andreia* outlined above, i.e. standing one's ground.

We should not accept the claims of Thucydidean speakers as representative of the author himself, but Thucydides confirms in his own voice that the Athenians' actions against Persia showed προθυμία in a statement with Spartan focalization. Here, he explains the Lacedaemonian reaction to the secret building of the Themistoclean walls: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ κωλύμῃ, ἀλλὰ γνώμης παραινέσει δῆθεν τῷ κοινῷ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο, ἅμα δὲ καὶ προσφιλεῖς ὄντες ἐν τῷ τότε διὰ τὴν ἐς τὸν Μῆδον προθυμίαν τὰ μάλιστ' αὐτοῖς ἐτύγχανον.⁵⁰² Although the Athenians' appeal to προθυμία against Persia falls flat as the Peloponnesian War is about to begin, Thucydides confirms that the Spartans did respect the Athenians' προθυμία in the immediate aftermath of the Persian War. Even though the Lacedaemonians are displeased with their loss of preeminence,⁵⁰³ they excuse the Athenians' actions when the Persian Wars are still a fresh memory.

Athenian speakers repeatedly invoke their city's προθυμία in the Persian Wars in the early part of the narrative, making προθυμία initially seem to be an aspect of Athenian self-presentation, but the Plataeans also refer to their own προθυμία against Persia. In this context, προθυμία can sometimes be translated as 'patriotism.' In their first speech to the Lacedemonians, the

⁵⁰² T 1.92.1: "The embassy, it seems, was prompted not by a desire to obstruct, but to guide the counsels of their government: besides, Spartan feeling was at that time very friendly towards Athens on account of the enthusiasm which she had displayed in the struggle with the Mede" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

⁵⁰³ Hornblower 1 137.

Plataeans contrast the favor they received after showing enthusiasm in the Persian Wars with the present situation:

τάδε μὲν ἡμῖν πατέρες οἱ ὑμέτεροι ἔδοσαν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ προθυμίας τῆς ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς κινδύνοις γενομένης, ὑμεῖς δὲ τάναντία δρᾶτε· μετὰ γὰρ Θηβαίων τῶν ἡμῖν ἐχθίστων ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἤκετε.⁵⁰⁴

Thus, it is more correct to say that Thucydides and speakers from various city-states associate προθυμία with the defense of Greece during the Persian Wars than to call προθυμία an Athenian trait. It may initially seem to be an Athenian quality, but as Thucydides refines the paradigms introduced in book one, especially in the account of the fighting at Pylos, the reader learns that both sides show προθυμία at various times.

The Plataeans try a similar argument after the siege succeeds, and their past προθυμία becomes a more prominent rhetorical theme. In order to convince the Lacedaemonians to show clemency, the Plataeans cite their προθυμία against Persia again:

καὶ δίκαιον ἡμῶν τῆς νῦν ἀμαρτίας, εἰ ἄρα ἡμάρτηταί τι, ἀντιθεῖναι τὴν τότε προθυμίαν· καὶ μείζω τε πρὸς ἐλάσσω εὐρήσετε καὶ ἐν καιροῖς οἷς σπάνιον ἦν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινὰ ἀρετὴν τῇ Ξέρξου δυνάμει ἀντιτάξασθαι, ἐπινοοῦντό τε μᾶλλον οἱ μὴ τὰ ξύμφορα πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλείᾳ πράσσοντες, ἐθέλοντες δὲ τολμᾶν μετὰ κινδύνων τὰ βέλτιστα.⁵⁰⁵

They also relate enthusiastic fighting against the Persians with ἀρετή for a second time, although this probably has more to do with the nature of that conflict than with any idea of goodness implicit in προθυμία. In addition, the

⁵⁰⁴ T 2.71.3: “Your fathers granted us these honors because of our virtue and enthusiasm in those troubles, but you do the opposite, since you come with our most hated enemies, the Thebans, to enslave us.”

⁵⁰⁵ T 3.56.5: “It is just, therefore, to put our patriotism then against our error now, if error there has been; and you will find the merit outweighing the fault, and displayed at a juncture when there were few Hellenes who would set their valor against the strength of Xerxes, and when greater praise was theirs who preferred the dangerous path of honor to the safe source of consulting their own interest with respect to the invasion” (tr. Crawley).

Plataeans conclude their appeal to the Lacedaemonians after the capture of Plataea by claiming they showed the most προθυμία in the earlier war:

ἐπισκήπτομέν τε ἅμα μὴ Πλαταιῆς ὄντες οἱ προθυμότατοι περὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας γενόμενοι Θηβαίοις τοῖς ἡμῖν ἐχθίστοις ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων χειρῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας πίστεως ἰκέται ὄντες, ὧς Λακεδαιμόνιοι, παραδοθῆναι, γενέσθαι δὲ σωτῆρας ἡμῶν καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας ἐλευθεροῦντας ἡμᾶς διολέσαι.⁵⁰⁶

The superlative shows that the Plataeans are ratcheting up their rhetoric as the speech concludes, and the contrast with the ‘most hostile’ Thebans recalls their first speech. C. F. Smith’s commentary on this passage notes that προθυμότατοι here, like πρόθυμοι at 3.57.4, describes “a disposition ready for any sacrifice.”⁵⁰⁷ Thus, προθυμία is one of the most important collective virtues because it can reflect the depth of someone’s commitment to a larger cause or group. Smith’s description of προθυμία also overlaps with the Baynes’ definition of military morale quoted in chapter one.⁵⁰⁸ In fact, tracing the rising and falling of προθυμία in Thucydides’ narrative is a good way to follow morale, especially in the account of the Sicilian Expedition.

Plataea cites its προθυμία in the Persian Wars to curry favor with the Lacedaemonians, but Thebes finds more success by referring to its current προθυμία. The Theban counter-speech rebuts claims of προθυμία against Persia by citing their own προθυμία in the current campaign:

ἐπειδὴ γοῦν ὃ τε Μῆδος ἀπῆλθε καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔλαβε, σκέψασθαι χρή, Ἀθηναίων ὕστερον ἐπιόντων τὴν τε ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν πειρωμένων ὑφ’ αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ κατὰ στάσιν ἤδη ἐχόντων αὐτῆς τὰ πολλά, εἰ μαχόμενοι ἐν

⁵⁰⁶ T 3.59.4: “We call upon you not to give over us Plataeans from your hands and your pledge of faith to the Thebans, our most hated enemies, since we are the most enthusiastic concerning the Greeks and suppliants; but become our saviors and do not destroy us while freeing the other Greeks.”

⁵⁰⁷ Smith (1894) *ad loc.* He also compares uses of προθυμία by the Plataeans at 3.56.5 and 2.71.3.

⁵⁰⁸ See above, section 1.1.

Κορωνεῖα καὶ νικήσαντες αὐτοὺς ἠλευθερώσαμεν τὴν Βοιωτίαν
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νῦν προθύμως ξυνελευθεροῦμεν, ἵππους τε
παρέχοντες καὶ παρασκευὴν ὅσῃν οὐκ ἄλλοι τῶν ξυμμάχων.⁵⁰⁹

The repeated root in ἠλευθερώσαμεν and ξυνελευθεροῦμεν recalls the Plataeans ironical ἐλευθεροῦντας at 3.59.4, but the Thebans pointedly put the adverb νῦν next to προθύμως, highlighting the benefits the Lacedaemonians are currently receiving. Furthermore, the Thebans are even specific about the military contributions to the alliance that show their προθυμία.

The Thebans make the same point even more emphatically as they conclude their argument. They somewhat euphemistically ask for restitution for the wrongs the Plataeans have done, since they themselves have shown προθυμία. The Thebans also imply that the Plataeans' past προθυμία is mere empty λόγος compared to the ἔργα they are currently accomplishing with their προθυμία:

ἀμύνετε οὖν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τῷ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμῳ ὑπὸ τῶνδε παραβαθέντι, καὶ ἡμῖν ἄνομα παθοῦσιν ἀνταπόδοτε χάριν δίκαιαν ὧν πρόθυμοι γεγενήμεθα, καὶ μὴ τοῖς τῶνδε λόγοις περιωσθῶμεν ἐν ὑμῖν, ποιήσατε δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησι παράδειγμα οὐ λόγων τοὺς ἀγῶνας προθήσοντες ἀλλ' ἔργων, ὧν ἀγαθῶν μὲν ὄντων βραχεῖα ἢ ἀπαγγελία ἀρκεῖ, ἀμαρτανομένων δὲ λόγοι ἔπεσι κοσμηθέντες προκαλύμματα γίνονται.⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁹ T 3.62.5: "Examine only how we acted after the departure of the Mede and the recovery of the constitution; when the Athenians attacked the rest of Hellas and endeavored to subjugate our country, of the greater part of which faction had already made them masters. Did not we fight and conquer at Coronea and liberate Boeotia, and do we not now enthusiastically contribute to the liberation of the rest, providing horses to the cause and a force unequalled by that of any other state in the confederacy?" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

⁵¹⁰ T 3.67.6: "Vindicate, therefore, Lacedaemonians, the Hellenic law which they have broken; and to us, the victims of its violation, grant the reward merited by our enthusiasm. Nor let us be supplanted in your favour by their harangues, but offer an example to the Hellenes, that the contests to which you invite them are of deeds, not words: good deeds can be shortly stated, but where wrong is done a wealth of language is needed to veil its deformity" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

As Adam Parry argues, this sentence reduces Plataeans' claims of past deeds to "pure λόγος," since their statements about traditional nobility and actions against Persia are only words compared to the Thebans' concrete benefits to the Peloponnesian war effort.⁵¹¹ The Plataeans' arguments about προθυμία against Persia are ineffectual compared to the Thebans' προθυμία against Athens.

In a different way, the Mytilenians try to excuse their past προθυμία for Athens and persuade the Lacedaemonians to show προθυμία for Mytilene and help it revolt. The Mytilenians first try to convince the Lacedaemonians that they only enthusiastically followed the Athenians as long as they carried on hostilities with Persia:

καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ἡγοῦντο, προθύμως εἰπόμεθα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐωρῶμεν αὐτοὺς τὴν μὲν τοῦ Μήδου ἔχθραν ἀνιέντας, τὴν δὲ τῶν συμμάχων δούλωσιν ἐπαγομένους, οὐκ ἀδεεῖς ἔτι ἦμεν.⁵¹²

This implies that participating in an alliance without προθυμία is almost like not participating; the Mytilenians almost seem to be describing a kind of passive resistance. Later, the Mytilenians try to convince the

Lacedaemonians to show προθυμία by enumerating the benefits of alliance:

βοηθησάντων δὲ ὑμῶν προθύμως πόλιν τε προσλήψεσθε ναυτικὸν ἔχουσιν μέγα, οὐπὲρ ὑμῖν μάλιστα προσδεῖ, καὶ Ἀθηναίους ῥᾶον καθαιρήσετε ὑφαιροῦντες αὐτῶν τοὺς συμμάχους (θρασύτερον γὰρ πᾶς τις προσχωρήσεται), τὴν τε αἰτίαν ἀποφεύξεσθε ἣν εἴχετε μὴ βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις.⁵¹³

⁵¹¹ Parry (1981) 190.

⁵¹² T 3.10.4: "As long as they led fairly, we followed enthusiastically; but when we saw them relaxing their hostility toward the Mede and devising the enslavement of their allies, we were not longer free from anxiety."

⁵¹³ T 3.13.7: "If you send help enthusiastically, you will gain a city with a great fleet, which you need most of all, and you will more easily wipe out the Athenians by causing the allies to revolt (since everyone will come over more boldly) and escape the responsibility which you have for not helping those who revolt."

This is a compelling analysis of the tactical and propaganda value of defending Mytilene from the Athenians, and the Lacedaemonians decide to aid them. Thus, the Mytilenians nominally succeed with their speech, but in fact are not much more successful than the Plataeans in persuading the Lacedaemonians. That is to say, they cannot convince the Lacedaemonians actually to show much προθυμία for them, since the fleet dallies and does not arrive before the city surrenders.⁵¹⁴

The Syracusan Hermocrates also talks about how showing προθυμία affects the nature of an alliance. Hermocrates' speech mentions the προθυμία the Athenians show for their allies in order to scare his countrymen into banding together:

ἐδήλωσαν δὲ νῦν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Χαλκιδικοῦ γένους παρακλήσει· τοῖς γὰρ οὐδεπώποτε σφίσι κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν προσβοηθήσασιν αὐτοὶ τὸ δίκαιον μᾶλλον τῆς ξυνθήκης προθύμως παρέσχοντο.⁵¹⁵

Hermocrates argues that the Athenians will menace Sicily, since they recently sent military aid to Chalcidice without receiving any prior benefits. Hornblower notes that Hermocrates plays with both formal and informal senses of alliance in this sentence, since the ξυμμαχικὸν that might the Chalcidians might have followed refers to a general tie of Ionian ethnicity, but the ξυνθήκη that the Athenians followed was an actual treaty.⁵¹⁶ This is an early indication both of Hermocrates' speeches implying rational calculations about προθυμία and his attempts to unify the Sicilians in books six and seven, which are discussed at length in the next section.

⁵¹⁴ T 3.29, although 3.26 explains that Cleomenes' invasion of Attica was very destructive.

⁵¹⁵ T 4.61.4: "They showed it recently in the request of the Chalcidian tribe: although the Chalcidians had never helped them according to the alliance, the Athenians enthusiastically provided more than was required in the treaty."

⁵¹⁶ Hornblower 2 225.

4.4 Προθυμία in Sicily

As Table 4.3 shows, Thucydides repeatedly mentions their προθυμία when the Athenians are contemplating and sending the expedition to Sicily, but he emphasizes Syracusan προθυμία more and more as the campaign wears on. When the Athenians get to Sicily and find out the promised financial support does not exist, their προθυμία wavers. The loss of Alcibiades harms them even more, since he, like Gylippus and Hermocrates on the Syracusan side, deploys λόγοι of προθυμία in a way that is consonant with Thucydides' descriptions of προθυμία in the narrative (ἔργα). Despite the Athenians' deficient leadership, both sides show tremendous προθυμία during the battle in the Great Harbor. Afterwards, however, Athenian προθυμία only motivates flight and appears in unsuccessful exhortations of Nicias. A study of προθυμία in Thucydides' narrative of the Sicilian Expedition reveals an almost exclusively upward trajectory for Syracusan and allied προθυμία and an early plateau followed by a precipitous drop at the end for Athenian and allied προθυμία. Thus, the rhetorical claims of the Syracusan Hermocrates and the Lacedaemonian Gylippus are implicitly validated by Thucydides. The Athenians initially have in Alcibiades a leader who both shows and elicits προθυμία, but his defection leaves Athenian morale in the less than capable hands of Nicias. Nicias typically speaks of Athenian προθυμία as it is falling or tries in vain to increase his soldiers' προθυμία, showing that his λόγοι of προθυμία are ineffectual. By developing the theme of προθυμία in the speeches and the narrative, Thucydides implicitly highlights the successes and failures of different leaders.

Table 4.3 – Προθυμία during the Sicilian Expedition

<i>Athenians and Allies</i>	<i>Syracusans and Allies</i>
6.6.2 – Ambassadors from Egesta incited the Athenians especially and called on them more enthusiastically (προθυμότερον)	
6.15.2 – Alcibiades most zealously supported the expedition (προθυμότητα)	
6.31.3 – Each trierarch in the Sicilian expedition was enthusiastic to the highest degree that his ship excel in beauty and fast sailing (προθυμηθέντος)	
	6.34.5 – Hermocrates argues that the Athenians will be discouraged if the Syracusans follow his plan to defend Tarentum, since they will not know for sure whether the nearby cities will receive them favorably (ἀθυμοῖεν)
	6.39.2 – [speech of Athenagoras] Oligarchy gives a share of danger to the many and not only claims an undue share of the benefits but takes and keeps it all, which is what the powerful and young among you are enthusiastic for (προθυμοῦνται)
6.46.2 – The Athenian generals lost enthusiasm, both because the first thing had gone against them and because the Rhegians, who were the first to be approached and most likely, refused to join them despite being kinsmen of the Leontines and friendly with them (ἀθυμία)	
6.47.1 – Nicias was of the opinion that they should settle matters between Egesta and Selinus, and after coasting past the other cities to show the power of the Athenians and their enthusiasm for their friends and allies sail home, unless some unexpected opportunity arose (προθυμίαν)	
6.68.4 – [speech of Nicias] So, remembering your reputation, go against your opponents enthusiastically and with the belief that the present necessity and difficulty are more fearsome than the enemy (προθύμως)	
	6.69.1 – The Syracusans did not fall short in enthusiasm or daring in either this or the other battles, and they were no worse in courage as long as their knowledge held out, but they unwillingly gave up their resolution when it ran out (προθυμία)

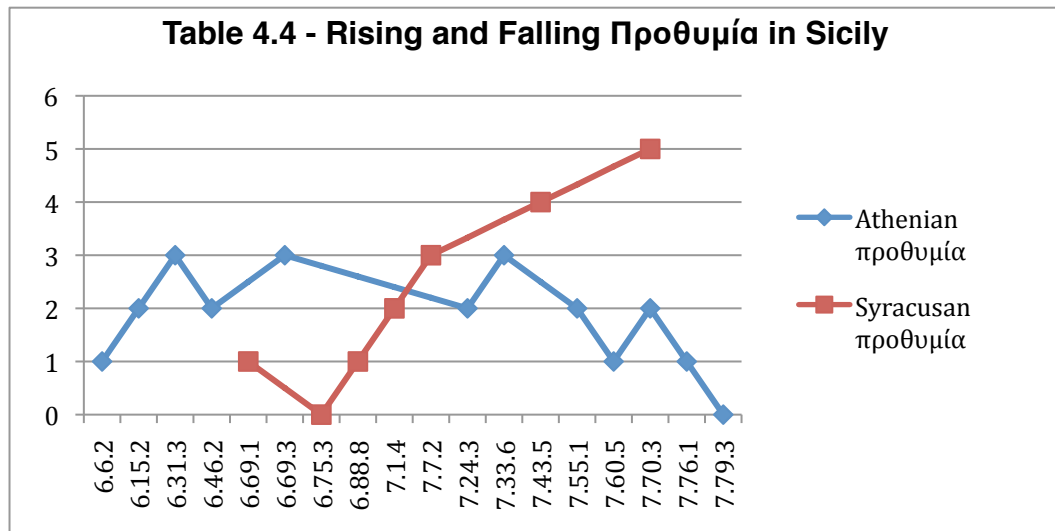
Table 4.3 (Continued)	
6.69.3 – The subject allies had the most enthusiasm because of the incalculable chance of salvation if they did not win, and getting easier terms from the Athenians was only a secondary concern (πρόθυμον)	
	6.75.3 – The Syracusans suspected that the Camarinaeans did not send what they sent to them for the first battle enthusiastically and would no longer be willing to help in the future, but that they would switch sides when they saw the Athenians' success in battle (προθύμως)
	6.80.1 – [speech of Hermocrates] And so, at least together we will not likely lack enthusiasm (ἀθυμεῖν), but go into an alliance with more enthusiasm, especially since help will come from the Peloponnesians, who are in all respects mightier than our enemies here in matters of war (προθυμότερον)
	6.88.8 – The Corinthians voted immediately to be the first to send assistance with all enthusiasm and sent along ambassadors with them to Lacedaemon, in order to persuade them also to make the war here against the Athenians more open and send some aid to Sicily (προθυμία)
	7.1.4 – Some of the Sicels promised to send a few troops, since they were ready to join in much more enthusiastically because one of their kings who was friendly to Athens had recently died and Gylippus had seemed to come from Lacedaemon with enthusiasm (προθυμότερον, προθύμως)
	7.7.2 – Gylippus had gone to the rest of Sicily for troops, collecting both a navy and an army, and also to bring over any cities that were not enthusiastic or were completely staying out of the conflict (πρόθυμος)
	7.21.3 – Hermocrates urged them most of all not to lack the spirit to try their hand with ships against the Athenians, saying that not even those men had a perpetual experience with the sea handed down to them but were mainlanders more than the Syracusans, who had been compelled by the Medes to become seafarers (ἀθυμεῖν)
7.24.3 – the Athenians lose the fort at Plemmyrium and can no longer bring in supplies, which causes shock and lack of spirit in the army, and this lack of supplies is extremely detrimental to them (ἀθυμίαν)	

Table 4.3 (Continued)	
7.33.6 – The Athenians collected the whole force and waited at Thurii, wishing to round up anyone who was missing and convince the Thurians to join the campaign with as much zeal as possible and, since they were in the present circumstance, make an offensive and defensive alliance with Athens (προθυμότητα)	
	7.43.5 – The Syracusan garrison on Epipolae immediately went to help the captured fort, and Demosthenes and the Athenians fell upon and routed them, although the Syracusans resisted enthusiastically (προθύμως)
7.55.1 – the decisive Athenian loss at sea causes undermines their spirit (ἀθυμίας)	
7.60.5 – After everything was ready, Nicias, seeing that the soldiers were dispirited because of the very much unexpected defeat on the ships and wanting to go through the danger as quickly as possible because of the dearth of friendly faces, first called them together and said the following (ἀθυμοῦντας)	
7.61.2 – Nicias exhorts the Athenians and allies not to lack spirit or suffer what the least experienced of men feel, who after suffering defeats in their first contests then have an expectation of fear like their misfortunes throughout (ἀθυμεῖν)	
	7.66.1 – [speech of Gylippus and the generals] That our past deeds are glorious and this contest will be for future glories, Syracusans and allies, we think you know, for otherwise you would not have taken these things in hand so enthusiastically (προθύμως)
	7.67.1 – [speech of Gylippus] Our spirit and recent victory have given us a double hope; and, for the most part, the greatest hope also provides the greatest enthusiasm for action (προθυμίαν)
7.70.3 – From the sailors on both sides, there was much enthusiasm to bring the boats to wherever was ordered, and the helmsmen's rivalry in technique and competition with one another was great (προθυμία)	7.70.3 – From the sailors on both sides, there was much enthusiasm to bring the boats to wherever was ordered, and the helmsmen's rivalry in technique and competition with one another was great (προθυμία)

Table 4.3 (Continued)	
7.70.7 – There were many orders and shouts about technical matters and because of the rivalry of the moment from both navies’ boatswains, calling on the Athenians to force a passage and enthusiastically take part now, if ever again; and calling to the Syracusans and their allies that it was noble to prevent the enemies’ escape and for each to glorify his homeland by winning (προθύμως)	
7.70.8 – In the critical battle, the Syracusan generals asked any they saw hesitating if they knew the Athenians were enthusiastic in every way for escape and they themselves were fleeing from men who were fleeing (προθυμούνους)	
7.76.1 – When Nicias saw the army was dispirited (ἀθυμοῦν) and greatly altered, he went along the lines to encourage and comfort them as much as possible in the circumstances, shouting louder at each group he was with because of his enthusiasm and desire to do some benefit by being heard as far as possible (προθυμίας)	
7.79.3 – The Athenians lose heart at a normal thunder storm, thinking it portends their destruction (ῥήθymουν)	

In addition, the chart below shows rising and falling προθυμία in Thucydides’ narrative of the Sicilian Expedition. Only Thucydides’ own uses of προθυμία and related words are included, so occurrences in direct and indirect speeches are not graphed. In addition, the enthusiasm of each side’s allies is counted. Instances of προθυμία are represented by an increase of one, and the lack of προθυμία and ἀθυμία are represented by a decrease of one. The chart indicates that Syracusan morale starts relatively low but steadily increases, while Athenian morale plateaus after the expeditions arrival before dropping off at the end. The lines cross near the beginning of book seven and the arrival of Gylippus. Furthermore, allies play a much different role for the two sides. The only loss of Syracusan προθυμία charted describes their wavering Camarinaean allies (6.75.3). Athenian προθυμία, on

the other hand, receives a bump from descriptions of allies in two of the three times it rises after the departure of the expedition (6.69.3, 7.33.6). Thus, the Athenians are more dependent on their allies for fighting spirit than the Syracusans, who are fighting in defense of their own land.



Although a visual representation of προθυμία in Thucydides' narrative is instructive, it gives only a simplified view of a complex theme. This section will discuss προθυμία in direct and indirect speeches alongside προθυμία in the narrative, since the λόγοι enrich the ἔργα in notable ways. Thucydides relates προθυμία to the genesis of the expedition, but he attributes it originally to the Egestaeans. After relating that the Athenians really wanted to rule all of Sicily, Thucydides says that ambassadors from Egesta incited them enthusiastically: μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐξώρμησαν Ἐγεσταίων [τε] πρέσβεις παρόντες καὶ προθυμότερον ἐπικαλούμενοι.⁵¹⁷ Note that although the Egestaeans express their προθυμία in λόγος, Thucydides uses the verb ἐξορμᾶν to describe the inciting, echoing ὀρμᾶσθαι of the Athenians' desire

⁵¹⁷ T 6.6.2: "Ambassadors of the Egestaeans who were present and calling on them rather enthusiastically especially incited them."

to campaign against Sicily in the previous sentence, and showing that the Egestaeans' λόγος causes actual Athenian action. The ambassadors' verbal προθυμία persuades the Athenians, but the lack of funds at Egesta when the Athenians arrive constitutes a deficiency in actual προθυμία. Despite inspiring Athenian action, Egesta has προθυμία only in λόγος.

Just as he motivates προθυμία among Athens' enemies after his defection, Alcibiades is a major motivator of Athenian enthusiasm for the expedition. Thucydides counts Alcibiades as the most enthusiastic Athenian supporter of the expedition, because of enmity with Nicias and personal ambition:

ἐνήγε δὲ προθυμώτατα τὴν στρατείαν Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ Κλεινίου, βουλόμενος τῷ τε Νικίᾳ ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ὧν καὶ ἐς τὰλλα διάφορος τὰ πολιτικά καὶ ὅτι αὐτοῦ διαβόλως ἐμνήσθη, καὶ μάλιστα στρατηγήσαι τε ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ ἐλπίζων Σικελίαν τε δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ Καρχηδόνα λήψεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἅμα εὐτυχήσας χρήμασί τε καὶ δόξῃ ὠφελήσειν.⁵¹⁸

Again, Thucydides depicts a process in which someone advances a λόγος in a spirit of προθυμία and then engenders προθυμία in his listeners. Indeed, Alcibiades' speech reflects the mood of the Athenian people quite well at this point, as shown by the trierarchs' preparations. Like his speech to the Lacedaemonians discussed above, this speech is a λύσις διαβολῆς that also increases its listeners' προθυμία.⁵¹⁹ And yet Alcibiades' emphasis on desire (ἐπιθυμία), profit, and expense also ties his speech into a larger negative

⁵¹⁸ T 6.15.2: "By far the most enthusiastic advocate of the expedition was, however, Alcibiades, son of Clinias, who wished to thwart Nicias both as his political opponent and also because of the attack he had made upon him in his speech, and who was, besides, exceedingly ambitious of a command by which he hoped to reduce Sicily and Carthage, and personally to gain in wealth and reputation by means of his successes" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

⁵¹⁹ Hornblower 3 338-339.

motifs relating to both the downfall of Alcibiades and the expedition itself.⁵²⁰

All this verbal inciting culminates in the individual Athenian trierarchs showing actual προθυμία as they fit out their ships: καὶ ἐς τὰ μακρότατα προθυμηθέντος ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ὅπως αὐτῷ τινὶ εὐπρεπείᾳ τε ἢ ναῦς μάλιστα προέξει καὶ τῷ ταχυναυτεῖν.⁵²¹ In this sentence, the τε...καὶ construction shows that the trierarchs' προθυμία causes them to strive for beauty and utility equally, although the next sentence suggests that the Athenian armament may be more imposing in appearance than actual military power.⁵²²

After Thucydides shifts to Sicily, he relates a debate between the Syracusans Hermocrates and Athenagoras.⁵²³ In his speech, Hermocrates advances a plan calculated to undercut Athenian morale. This is the first speech of Hermocrates since he warned against enthusiastic Athenian interventionism in book four.⁵²⁴ Hermocrates argues that defending Tarentum will leave the Athenians in a difficult position that will cause ἀθυμία:

οἱ δὲ μετ' ὀλίγων ἐφοδίων ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίᾳ περαιωθέντες ἀποροῖεν ἂν κατὰ χωρία ἐρήμα, καὶ ἢ μένοντες πολιορκοῖντο ἂν ἢ πειρώμενοι παραπλεῖν τήν τε ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἀπολείποιν ἂν καὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων οὐκ ἂν βέβαια ἔχοντες, εἰ ὑποδέξοιντο, ἀθυμοῖεν.⁵²⁵

⁵²⁰ Kallet (2001) 36-37; see also 3.4, relating the Athenians' unchecked desires to too much reliance on τόλμα.

⁵²¹ T 6.31.3: "And each one [of the trierarchs] was zealous to the highest degree that his ship stand out with some adornment and in fast sailing."

⁵²² Kallet (2001) 48-66 argues by analogy with T 1.10 that the expedition was much more powerfully visually than militarily, but Hornblower 3 338-340 counters that a polished and formidable appearance suggests efficacy in action rather than contrasting with it.

⁵²³ See sections 4.1 and 3.5 for more on the speech of Athenagoras.

⁵²⁴ See the previous section for a discussion of that speech.

⁵²⁵ T 6.34.5: "They, having crossed with few provisions just to give battle, would be hard put in desolate places, and would either have to remain and be blockaded, or to try to sail along the coast, abandoning the rest of their armament, and losing enthusiasm even more since they would not know for certain whether the cities would receive them" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

Although the Syracusans do not adopt this plan, this speech prepares the reader for Hermocrates' role in managing Syracusan προθυμία and suggests the ability to plan rationally that he later shows. H. P. Stahl argues that Hermocrates' plan shows a nuanced understanding of how to challenge the Athenians psychologically with the unexpected, and that Thucydides includes this kind of literary detail "to draw the reader's attention to an unforeseen situation, in which the train of events may switch tracks."⁵²⁶

Although a bold and decisive Sicilian show of resistance does not materialize, events in Sicily still do not play out as the Athenians initially expected. Soon after arriving in Sicily, the Athenian generals lose enthusiasm because of the lack of money at Egesta and the intractability of the Rhegians:

καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ εὐθύς ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ ἦσαν, ὅτι αὐτοῖς τοῦτό τε
πρῶτον ἀντεκεκρούκει καὶ οἱ Ῥηγῖνοι οὐκ ἐθελήσαντες
ξυστρατεύειν, οὐς πρῶτον ἤρξαντο πείθειν καὶ εἰκὸς ἦν μάλιστα,
Λεοντίνων τε ξυγγενεῖς ὄντας καὶ σφίσιν αἰεὶ ἐπιτηδεύουσιν.⁵²⁷

Since the Egestaeans showed such infectious προθυμία when they were inciting the Athenians to come to Sicily, the failure of the promised support to materialize undermines the Athenian generals' enthusiasm to a similar degree. Furthermore, Thucydides couples his reference to Athenian disappointment with an explanation of the device the Egestaeans used to deceive them, and this is an example of Thucydides' "technique of using facts to characterize human moods and attitudes."⁵²⁸ When the generals debate how to respond to these developments, Nicias advocates making a quick show of Athens'

⁵²⁶ Stahl (2003) 194-199.

⁵²⁷ T 6.46.2: "The generals immediately lost enthusiasm at being thus disappointed at the outset, and by the refusal to join in the expedition of the Rhegians, the people they had first tried to gain and had had most reason to count upon, from their relationship to the Leontines and constant friendship for Athens" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

⁵²⁸ Stahl (2003) 184-185.

προθυμία for her allies and sailing home: ἐπιδείξαντας μὲν τὴν δύναμιν τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως, δηλώσαντας δὲ τὴν ἐς τοὺς φίλους καὶ συμμαχούς προθυμίαν, ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε.⁵²⁹ Hornblower notes that Nicias' emphasis on display so soon after the Egestaeans' fraud, also described by ἐπιδείκνυμι, has a negative connotation, although the fleet's power is more real than the Egestaeans money.⁵³⁰ This speech, like that of Hermocrates before the Athenians arrive, also leads the reader to consider another purely hypothetical end to the expedition, in which it sails back to Athens intact and nominally successful but without satisfying the Athenians' desire for conquest.

The account of the first land battle between the Athenian expedition and the Syracusans contains a complex investigation of the προθυμία on both sides. In addition to the important authorial comment at 6.69, Nicias gives a speech to encourage προθυμία before the battle, and Thucydides comments on the προθυμία of the Athenian subject allies in the battle. Nicias ends his pre-battle exhortation with an appeal to his troops to fight enthusiastically: τῆς τε οὖν ὑμετέρας αὐτῶν ἀξίας μνησθέντες ἐπέλθετε τοῖς ἐναντίοις προθύμως, καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀνάγκην καὶ ἀπορίαν φοβερωτέραν ἡγησάμενοι τῶν πολεμίων.⁵³¹ Nicias, like other leaders, attempts to motivate προθυμία through fear (φόβος), and the Athenian victory shows that he is at least partially successful. The speech, however, is rather grim and uninspiring, and Thucydides makes up for its deficiencies by relating the different factions' motivations at 6.69.3, so the soldiers themselves counteract

⁵²⁹ T 6.47.1: "Demonstrating the power of the city of the Athenians and her enthusiasm for her friends and allies to sail away home."

⁵³⁰ Hornblower 3 424.

⁵³¹ T 6.68.4: "Remembering your own reputation, go against your opponents enthusiastically, considering the present necessity and difficulty more terrifying than the enemy."

their commander's "defeatism."⁵³² After explaining that the Syracusans were fighting for safety and freedom, Thucydides relates what the Athenians, the Argives, and the other autonomous allies were fighting for. He then switches constructions and tells what elicited προθυμία from the Athenians' subject allies:

τὸ δ' ὑπήκοον τῶν συμμάχων μέγιστον μὲν περὶ τῆς αὐτίκα ἀνελπίστου σωτηρίας, ἣν μὴ κρατῶσι, τὸ πρόθυμον εἶχον, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐν παρέργῳ καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο συγκαταστρεψαμένοις ῥᾶον αὐτοῖς ὑπακούσεται.⁵³³

Thucydides seems to suggest that the subject allies were mostly more enthusiastic because they were more desperate than the other factions in the Athenian force. Although I have shown above that fear or apprehension can increase προθυμία, Thucydides is remarkably ambivalent about the victorious Athenians' morale.

Furthermore, these two descriptions of Athenian προθυμία frame a much more positive authorial statement about the Syracusans. At 6.69.1,⁵³⁴ Thucydides explains that the Syracusans were not deficient in προθυμία in this or any other battles. Thus, the two instances in the narrative implicitly undermine the speech of Nicias. Although the Athenians win the battle, Thucydides emphasizes the enthusiasm of their enemies. He explains the enthusiasm of their allies for reasons that agree with Nicias' speech, but the omission of προθυμία from the description of the Athenians' and autonomous allies' motivations implies that they did not have the same enthusiasm for fighting that drove the Syracusans and the subject allies.

⁵³² Hornblower 3 472.

⁵³³ T 6.69.3: "The greatest part of the subject allies had enthusiasm first on account of not expecting salvation if they were not victorious and only second in the hope that their terms would be easier if they joined in the conquering."

⁵³⁴ See sections 1.2 and 6.1 for more lengthy discussions of this passage.

The Syracusan reaction to the defeat focuses on the role of the Camarinaeans, who sent some troops to fight alongside the Syracusans. The Syracusan focus on the deficient enthusiasm of their allies dovetails with Thucydides' own claim that the Syracusans themselves did not fall short in προθυμία. Thucydides explains that the Syracusans suspected the Camarinaeans of not helping enthusiastically:

ἦσαν γὰρ ὑποπτοὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ Καμαριναῖοι μὴ προθύμως σφίσι μήτ' ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην μάχην πέμψαι ἃ ἔπεμψαν, ἕς τε τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ οὐκέτι βούλωνται ἀμύνειν, ὁρῶντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐν τῇ μάχῃ εὖ πράξαντας, προσχωρῶσι δ' αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν προτέραν φιλίαν πεισθέντες.⁵³⁵

The Camarinaeans have “symmachial obligations” to both sides, but the following debate between Hermocrates and Euphemus does not settle anything, and the Camarinaeans do not fully commit to the Syracusan side until after the Athenian defeat at Plemmyrium (7.33).⁵³⁶ In his speech at Camarina, Hermocrates advocates Sicilian unity against the Athenian threat:

ὥστε οὐχ ἀθρόους γε ὄντας εἰκὸς ἀθυμεῖν, ἰέναι δὲ ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προθυμότερον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου παρεσομένης ὠφελίας, οἱ τῶνδε κρείσσους εἰσὶ τὸ παράπαν τὰ πολέμια.⁵³⁷

Just as argued above, one of the central elements of a functioning alliance is προθυμία. The phrase ἰέναι δὲ ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προθυμότερον must refer to fighting alongside the Syracusans more enthusiastically, not joining an alliance with them, since a treaty already exists between Syracuse and

⁵³⁵ T 6.75.3: “The Camarinaeans were suspected by them of not enthusiastically sending for the first battle what they sent, of no longer wanting to defend them in the future, seeing that the Athenians did well in the battle, and of going over to the Athenians in obedience to their earlier ties of friendship.”

⁵³⁶ Hornblower 3 492-493.

⁵³⁷ 6.80.1: “And so it is not likely that we would lack enthusiasm when together, but fight alongside us more enthusiastically, especially since aid will come from the Peloponnesians, who are in all respects mightier than these men in matters of war.”

Camarina.⁵³⁸ Hermocrates is unable to sway the Camarinaeans, but his emphasis on help from the Peloponnese is not incorrect. Thucydides relates immediately after the debate that envoys from Syracuse convinced the Corinthians to prepare a relief force enthusiastically: καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι εὐθύς ψηφισάμενοι αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι ὥστε πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ἀμύνειν.⁵³⁹ Thucydides also contrasts the active Corinthians and the more deliberate Spartans, who do not yet send forces to Sicily.⁵⁴⁰

The Spartans also eventually send help, once Alcibades has convinced them and increased their προθυμία.⁵⁴¹ Thucydides shows that Alcibiades was important in overcoming the Lacedaemonians' deficient προθυμία and in the decision to send a Spartan commander. Furthermore, this commander is able to rally general Sicilian προθυμία. Thucydides explains that the arrival of Gylippus and death of one of their kings made the Sicels more enthusiastic for Syracuse:

πέμψειν δέ τινα αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχοντο στρατιὰν οὐ πολλὴν καὶ οἱ Γελῶοι καὶ τῶν Σικελῶν τινές, οἱ πολὺ προθυμότερον προσχωρεῖν ἐτοῖμοι ἦσαν τοῦ τε Ἀρχωνίδου νεωστὶ τεθνηκότος, ὃς τῶν ταύτῃ Σικελῶν βασιλεύων τινῶν καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἀδύνατος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις φίλος ἦν, καὶ τοῦ Γυλίππου ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος προθύμως δοκοῦντος ἤκειν.⁵⁴²

Thus, the Syracusan allies gain enthusiasm for two reasons: the death of Archonidas and their impression of Gylippus as enthusiastic. This Archonidas

⁵³⁸ Hornblower 3 500.

⁵³⁹ T 6.88.8: "The Corinthians were straightaway the first to vote to send help [to Syracuse] with total enthusiasm."

⁵⁴⁰ Hornblower 3 509, comparing the contrast at 2.80 of the Spartans and Corinthians, who are described by ξυμπροθυμούμενοι there.

⁵⁴¹ See section 4.2 above.

⁵⁴² T 7.1.4: "A few troops were also promised by the Geloans and some of the Sicels, who were now ready to join them with much greater enthusiasm, owing to the recent death of Archonidas, a powerful Sicel king in that neighborhood and friendly to Athens, and owing also to the enthusiasm shown by Gylippus in coming from Lacedaemon" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

was actually an Athenian *proxenos*, and Thucydides' vague and belated reference to this previously existing diplomatic tie has the effect of making the Athenian invasion look less well planned than it was.⁵⁴³ In addition, Gylippus shows and elicits προθυμία, similar to Alcibades and Brasidas, but Thucydides' qualification δοκοῦντος is more a matter of emphasizing the Sicilians' impressions of him than contrasting his apparent προθυμία with an actual lack of it.

After the Corinthian ships arrive, Thucydides again relates Gylippus to προθυμία, as he goes around to encourage the Sicilian cities that were unenthusiastic:

καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Σικελίαν ἐπὶ στρατιάν τε ὥχετο, καὶ ναυτικὴν καὶ πεζὴν ξυλλέξων, καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἅμα προσαξόμενος εἴ τις ἢ μὴ πρόθυμος ᾖν ἢ παντάπασιν ἔτι ἀφειστήκει τοῦ πολέμου.⁵⁴⁴

Here again, Thucydides seems to view προθυμία as the quality that alliance depends on, since Gylippus is trying to gain the adhesion of both unenthusiastic allies and neutrals. Thus, the arrival of Gylippus and his effective leadership are major reasons for the Syracusans and their allies having high morale at this point.

Hermocrates also joins Gylippus in trying to increase Syracusan προθυμία. Hermocrates urged them most of all not to lack the spirit to try their hand with ships against the Athenians:

ξυνανέπειθε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἑρμοκράτης οὐχ ἥκιστα, τοῦ ταῖς ναυσὶ μὴ ἀθυμεῖν ἐπιχειρῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, λέγων οὐδ' ἐκείνους πάτριον τὴν ἐμπειρίαν οὐδ' αἰδίων τῆς θαλάσσης ἔχειν, ἀλλ'

⁵⁴³ Hornblower 3 542-543.

⁵⁴⁴ T 7.7.2: "Gylippus had gone to the rest of Sicily for an army, collecting both sea and land forces, and also bringing over any of the cities, if they were either not enthusiastic or still completely abstained from the war."

ἡπειρώτας μᾶλλον τῶν Συρακοσίων ὄντας καὶ ἀναγκασθέντας ὑπὸ Μήδων ναυτικούς γενέσθαι.⁵⁴⁵

Hornblower argues that Hermocrates gives the right recommendation for the wrong reasons; that is, the claim about the Athenians being landsmen is a rhetorical exaggeration, but this is the beginning of a process that culminates in the Syracusans outdoing the Athenians in sea-fighting.⁵⁴⁶ This paraphrased speech of Hermocrates also picks up the theme of Syracuse matching Athens in τόλμα, another crucial element of the Syracusans' ultimate triumph.⁵⁴⁷

The result of the first sea battle is a considerable setback for the Athenians, even though they win the ship-to-ship fighting. Because of the battle, the Athenians lose the fort at Plemmyrium and can no longer bring in supplies, causing ἀθυμία to the army:

μέγιστόν τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτον ἐκάκωσε τὸ στράτευμα τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἢ τοῦ Πλημμυρίου λήψις· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι οὐδ' οἱ ἔσπλοι ἀσφαλεῖς ἦσαν τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων (οἱ γὰρ Συρακόσιοι ναυσὶν αὐτόθι ἐφορμοῦντες ἐκώλυον, καὶ διὰ μάχης ἥδη ἐγίγνοντο αἱ ἐσκομιδαί), ἔς τε τᾶλλα κατάπληξιν παρέσχε καὶ ἀθυμίαν τῷ στρατεύματι.⁵⁴⁸

Thucydides pairs κατάπληξις with ἀθυμία to emphasize the serious effects of this development on Athenian morale.⁵⁴⁹ The word κατάπληξις, a stronger version of the more common ἑκπληξις, first occurs here in Thucydides and

⁵⁴⁵ T 7.21.3: "With him Hermocrates actively joined in trying to persuade his countrymen not to lack the enthusiasm to attack the Athenians at sea, saying that the latter had not inherited their naval prowess nor would they retain it for ever; they had been landsmen even to a greater degree than the Syracusans, and had only become a maritime power when obliged by the Mede" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

⁵⁴⁶ Hornblower 3 580.

⁵⁴⁷ See section 3.5 above.

⁵⁴⁸ T 7.24.3: "Indeed the first and chiefest cause of the ruin of the Athenian army was the capture of Plemmyrium; even the entrance of the harbor being now no longer safe for carrying in provisions, as the Syracusan vessels were stationed there to prevent it, and nothing could be brought in without fighting; and generally it caused shock and low morale among the men" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

⁵⁴⁹ Contrast 4.14.3, discussed in the next section, where the Lacedaemonians combine προθυμία with ἑκπληξις.

extant Greek literature.⁵⁵⁰ Furthermore, by speaking of the capture (λήψις) of Plemmyrium rather than its loss, Thucydides emphasizes increasing Syracusan “dynamism.”⁵⁵¹

At this point in the campaign, Athenian morale receives a boost from reinforcements. First, the Athenians convince the Thurians to provide assistance, and then Demosthenes arrives from Athens with another considerable fleet. Since the Athenians are struggling, they want to get the Thurians to fight alongside them enthusiastically and conclude a formal alliance:

καὶ βουλόμενοι τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτόθι πᾶσαν ἀθροίσαντες εἴ τις ὑπελέλειπτο ἐξετάσαι, καὶ τοὺς Θουρίους πείσαι σφίσι ξυστρατεύειν τε ὡς προθυμότατα καί, ἐπειδὴ περ ἐν τούτῳ τύχης εἰσί, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ φίλους τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις νομίζειν, περιέμενον ἐν τῇ Θουρίᾳ καὶ ἔπρασσον ταῦτα.⁵⁵²

Here, the Athenians seem to view campaigning together with προθυμία as a form of alliance a step below a formal treaty. The Athenians are at least partially successful at getting the enthusiastic help they want. Although no formal alliance is concluded, the Thurians provide troops to Demosthenes at 7.35.1 and are listed on the Athenian side at 7.57.11.⁵⁵³ Thucydides associates the relief force of Demosthenes with ῥώμη,⁵⁵⁴ but he mentions the προθυμία of the Syracusans in response to Demosthenes’ attack on Epipolae. Although the reinforcements greatly encourage the Athenians and dismay the

⁵⁵⁰ Hornblower 3 583-584.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵² T 7.33.6: “And accordingly they remained there to muster and review the whole army, to see if any had been left behind, and to prevail upon the Thurians to join them with as much enthusiasm as possible in their expedition, and in the circumstances in which they found themselves to conclude a defensive and offensive alliance with the Athenians” (adapted from Crawley’s translation).

⁵⁵³ Hornblower 3 609.

⁵⁵⁴ See section 5.2 for more on Demosthenes’ force and ῥώμη, as well as the effects on both sides’ morale of the daring assault on Epipolae.

Syracusans, Thucydides uses the προθυμία motif to show that they do not really change the trajectory of either side's morale. The Syracusan guards on Epipolae respond quickly but are routed: οἱ δ' ἐβόηθουν τ' εὐθύς, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁ Δημοσθένης καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐντυχόντες ἀμυνομένους προθύμως ἔτρεψαν.⁵⁵⁵ Like Thucydides' statement about the first Syracusans defeat at 6.69, although much less emphatically, this emphasis on the defeated Syracusans' προθυμία prepares the reader to understand their ultimate victory.

The subsequent Athenian defeat at sea causes ἀθυμία for them, and Thucydides' excursus on morale here also explains that the Athenians had trouble fighting a city so similar to their own.⁵⁵⁶ Thucydides that their decisive loss at sea caused a complete loss of enthusiasm among the Athenians:

Γεγεννημένης δὲ τῆς νίκης τοῖς Συρακοσίοις λαμπρᾶς ἤδη καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ (πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἐφοβοῦντο τὰς μετὰ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ναῦς ἐπελθούσας) οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν παντὶ δὴ ἀθυμίας ἦσαν καὶ ὁ παράλογος αὐτοῖς μέγας ἦν, πολὺ δὲ μείζων ἔτι τῆς στρατείας ὁ μετάρμελος.⁵⁵⁷

Thus, the defeat at sea despite the reinforcements under Demosthenes lowers Athenian morale even more than before Demosthenes arrived. Stahl argues that this passage describes the Athenian mood as the reverse of what it was when they decided to send the expedition at 6.24: ἔρως then has become μετάρμελος now, and παράλογος here answers ignorance there.⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁵ T 7.43.5: "[The Syracusan garrison] rushed to assist, and Demosthenes and the Athenians fell upon and routed them, although they resisted enthusiastically."

⁵⁵⁶ Hornblower 3 648-650, arguing that πόλεις must refer especially to Syracuse, but that Thucydides also wants to highlight the ineffectiveness of the Athenian strategy of regime change.

⁵⁵⁷ T 7.55.1: "The Syracusans had now gained a decisive victory at sea, where until now they had feared the reinforcement brought by Demosthenes, and complete, in consequence, was the lack of enthusiasm of the Athenians, and great their disappointment, and greater still their regret for having come on the expedition" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

⁵⁵⁸ Stahl (2003) 185.

Furthermore, Thucydides' comments on the Athenians' difficulty fighting the Syracusans almost quote Nicias' speech at 6.20, so the course of events in book seven is now elucidating speeches from the beginning of book six.⁵⁵⁹

The προθυμία of both sides is also a major theme of the interlaced speech and narrative that relate the climactic battle in the Great Harbor. The complex of speeches continues an almost exclusive oratorical focus on Nicias in book seven, at least on the Athenian side.⁵⁶⁰ In the speeches on both sides, the more general advice contains arguments about experience and προθυμία. Thucydides says the first direct speech was motivated by the low morale after the defeat at sea:

ὁρῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας τῷ τε παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς πολὺ ταῖς ναυσὶ
κρατηθῆναι ἀθυμοῦντας καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπάνιν ὥς
τάχιστα βουλομένους διακινδυνεύειν.⁵⁶¹

During the actual speech, Nicias specifically addresses the men's ἀθυμία, arguing that they are acting like very inexperienced men who cannot overcome a single defeat:

ἀθυμεῖν δὲ οὐ χρὴ οὐδὲ πάσχειν ὅπερ οἱ ἀπειρότατοι τῶν
ἀνθρώπων, οἳ τοῖς πρώτοις ἀγῶσι σφαλέντες ἔπειτα διὰ παντὸς
τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ φόβου ὁμοίαν ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς ἔχουσιν.⁵⁶²

Nicias then tells his men that they are too experienced to react this way to a single defeat, however unexpected. Thucydides' comment about προθυμία at 7.70.3 shows this was at least partially successful at increasing Athenian enthusiasm, but the Athenians still lose even with a numerical advantage.

⁵⁵⁹ Stahl (2003) 185-186.

⁵⁶⁰ Hornblower 3 673.

⁵⁶¹ T 7.60.5: "Seeing the soldiers unenthusiastic because of the quite unexpected defeat at sea and wanting to roll the dice as quickly as possible because of the scarcity of the provisions."

⁵⁶² T 7.61.2: "Do not be unenthusiastic and experience what the least experienced men do, who stumble in their first matches and then completely have a fearful expectation like their misfortunes."

Nicias sees that his men are dispirited and tries to talk them out of it, but Gylippus sees his men already enthusiastic and needs only to keep their momentum going.

As Gylippus argues, all the recent battles have given him good reason to believe Syracusan momentum will continue, and so it does. Echoing the opening of Nicias' speech with a reference to the coming ἀγών, Gylippus and the generals say that the men listening to them are already acting with προθυμία:

“Ὅτι μὲν καλὰ τὰ προειργασμένα καὶ ὑπὲρ καλῶν τῶν μελλόντων ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται, ὧ Συρακόσιοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, οἳ τε πολλοὶ δοκεῖτε ἡμῖν εἰδέναι (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν οὕτως αὐτῶν προθύμως ἀντελάβεσθε), καὶ εἴ τις μὴ ἐπὶ ὅσον δεῖ ῥησθῆται, σηματοῦμεν.”⁵⁶³

Thus, the oration itself is probably not necessary, since the Syracusans are currently acting with προθυμία. Not only do the speakers claim that the Syracusans are and have been showing προθυμία, they also argue that the Syracusans will have more προθυμία in the coming battle than before.

Because the Syracusans have now added skill to their daring, their greater expectations will generate more enthusiasm:

ἡμῶν δὲ τό τε ὑπάρχον πρότερον, ᾧ περ καὶ ἀνεπιστήμονες ἔτι ὄντες ἀπετολμήσαμεν, βεβαιότερον νῦν, καὶ τῆς δοκίσεως προσγεγεννημένης αὐτῷ, τὸ κρατίστους εἶναι εἰ τοὺς κρατίστους ἐνίκησαμεν, διπλασία ἐκάστου ἢ ἐλπίς· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις ἢ μεγίστη ἐλπίς μεγίστην καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν παρέχεται.⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁶³ T 7.66.1: “Syracusans and allies, the glorious character of our past achievements and the no less glorious results at issue in the coming battle are, we think, understood by most of you, or you would never have thrown yourselves so enthusiastically into the struggle; and if there be any one not as fully aware of the facts as he ought to be, we will declare them to him” (adapted from Crawley’s translation).

⁵⁶⁴ T 7.67.1: “With us it is different. The original estimate of ourselves which gave us daring when we still lacked skill has been strengthened, while the conviction added to it that we must be the best seamen of the time, if we have conquered the best, has given a double measure of hope to every man among us; and, for the most part, where there is the greatest hope, there is also the greatest enthusiasm for action” (adapted from Crawley’s translation).

This highly rhetorical sentence, with the word διπλασία reflected in the actual doubling of κρατίστους and μεγίστη,⁵⁶⁵ recalls Thucydides' statement about Syracusan morale at 6.69.1. The previous chapter explained how this speech picks up the themes of τόλμα and ἐπιστήμη from 6.69,⁵⁶⁶ and Gylippus' argument about προθυμία works in a similar way. Not only are the Syracusans already showing προθυμία, but their recent victory over the mighty Athenians should increase their enthusiasm. Thucydides' own analysis of Syracusan morale in book six is echoed and answered by this speech, the arguments of which are confirmed by the subsequent narrative.⁵⁶⁷

Thucydides' description of the battle contains a greater concentration of rhetorical techniques, like the anaphora of πολλή, than is typical for Thucydides, marking this as a particularly decisive moment.⁵⁶⁸ In the climactic battle in the Great Harbor, Thucydides says the sailors on both sides show great enthusiasm:

πολλή μὲν γὰρ ἑκατέροις προθυμία ἀπὸ τῶν ναυτῶν ἐς τὸ ἐπιπλεῖν
ὁπότε κελευσθεῖη ἐγίγνετο, πολλή δὲ ἡ ἀντιτέχνησις τῶν
κυβερνητῶν καὶ ἀγωνισμὸς πρὸς ἀλλήλους.⁵⁶⁹

In addition to Thucydides' own words, he records in indirect speech shouts of the boatswains and generals on both sides. In a kind of chiasmic structure, the Athenian boatswains, whose words are recorded first, try to elicit enthusiasm from their men; then, the Syracusan generals, whose words are reported fourth, reevaluate the Athenians' προθυμία as simply desire for flight. On the Athenian side, the encouragement calls for fighting enthusiastically to save the

⁵⁶⁵ Hornblower 3 686.

⁵⁶⁶ See section 3.5 above.

⁵⁶⁷ Romilly (1956) 160-161.

⁵⁶⁸ Hornblower 3 694.

⁵⁶⁹ T 7.70.3: "Great was the enthusiasm from the rowers on each side to row where they were bid, and great was the rivalry in skill and contention with one another of the helmsmen."

homeland: τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις βιάζεσθαι τε τὸν ἔκπλουν ἐπιβοῶντες καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν πατρίδα σωτηρίας νῦν, εἴ ποτε καὶ αὖθις, προθύμως ἀντιλαβέσθαι.⁵⁷⁰ Although these Athenians are ultimately fighting to secure their city, it is actually the Syracusans who are fighting more immediately to protect their homes. Furthermore, the encouragement for the Syracusans uses the Athenians' enthusiasm to shame any wavering Syracusan: οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι εἰ οὐς σαφῶς ἴσασι προθυμouμένους Ἀθηναίους παντὶ τρόπῳ διαφυγεῖν, τούτους αὐτοὶ φεύγοντας φεύγουσιν.⁵⁷¹ Thucydides' inclusion of these statements refines his own claim about προθυμία in the battle, and the juxtaposition of these two competing shouts prepares the reader for the Athenians' defeat. Despite the enthusiasm on both sides, the Syracusans are fighting for their homeland, and the Athenians are desperate to escape.

After this defeat, Athenian morale cannot recover, although Nicias tries to turn it around. Nicias again sees the ἀθυμία of his men and enthusiastically tries to encourage them. Nicias has been a feckless commander up to now, but Thucydides depicts him as more active in the final phase of the campaign. When he sees the troops' low morale, προθυμία drives Nicias' exhortation:

Ὅρων δὲ ὁ Νικίας τὸ στράτευμα ἀθυμοῦν καὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ μεταβολῇ ὄν, ἐπιπαριῶν ὥς ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐθάρσυνέ τε καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο, βοῇ τε χρώμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκάστοις καθ' οὐς

⁵⁷⁰ T 7.70.7: "Calling on the Athenians to force passage out and enthusiastically grab hold of salvation for their homeland now, if ever again."

⁵⁷¹ T 7.70.8: "The Syracusan generals [asked anyone they saw wavering] if they were themselves fleeing these fleeing Athenians, whom they well knew were enthusiastic in every way to escape."

γίγνοιτο ὑπὸ προθυμίας καὶ βουλόμενος ὥς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
γεγωνίσκων ὠφελεῖν τι.⁵⁷²

The contrast of the demoralized troops and enthusiastic shines a more positive light on Nicias, but his speech is unimaginative and unconvincingly draws on traditional ideas of piety and justice.⁵⁷³ Soon after, the Athenians lose enthusiasm yet again, this time because of a thunderstorm:

ἔτυχον δὲ καὶ βρονταὶ τινες ἅμα γενόμεναι καὶ ὕδωρ, οἷα τοῦ
ἔτους πρὸς μετόπωρον ἤδη ὄντος φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι· ἀφ’ ὧν οἱ
Ἀθηναῖοι μᾶλλον ἔτι ἠθύμουν καὶ ἐνόμιζον ἐπὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ
ὀλέθρῳ καὶ ταῦτα πάντα γίγνεσθαι.⁵⁷⁴

Since Thucydides claims that this sort of storm was typical for the time of year, the Athenians’ reaction was clearly irrational. This contrasts with 6.70, where only the less experienced men are scared by the thunder; here, everyone on the Athenian side is affected by a kind of religious foreboding.⁵⁷⁵ The contrast confirms the Athenians’ destruction, since it shows that Nicias’ argument at 7.61 about experience still saving the Athenians no longer has any validity. Even the Athenians’ great experience and skill cannot steady their morale after such great and unexpected defeats at the hands of the Syracusans.

4.5 Morale at Pylos: προθυμία and ῥώμη

Thucydides’ account of the campaign at Pylos contains a number of important assessments of both sides’ morale. Table 4.5 shows that the

⁵⁷² T 7.76.1: “Nicias seeing the army unenthusiastic and greatly altered, passed along the ranks and encouraged and comforted them as far as was possible under the circumstances, raising his voice still higher and higher as he went from one company to another in his enthusiasm, and wishing that the benefit of his words might reach as many as possible” (adapted from Crawley’s translation).

⁵⁷³ Connor (1984) 201-202.

⁵⁷⁴ T 7.79.3: “Meanwhile occurred some claps of thunder and rain, as often happens towards autumn, which made the Athenians still more unenthusiastic, who thought all these things to be omens of their approaching ruin” (adapted from Crawley’s translation).

⁵⁷⁵ Horblower 3 724-725.

Table 4.5 – Προθυμία and ῥώμη at Pylos	
<i>Athenians and Allies</i>	<i>Peloponnesians and Allies</i>
4.9.2 – Demosthenes calculates desperation will cause his picked troops to be more enthusiastic (προθυμήσεσθαι)	
	4.11.3 – The Athenians were defending themselves from both sides, land and sea; and the Lacedaemonians, divided into small groups of ships, since they could not approach with many, and relieving each other in turn made their attack, using all their enthusiasm and cheering each other on in the hope of breaking through and taking the wall (προθυμία)
	4.12.2 – The other Lacedaemonians were enthusiastic, but they were unable to disembark owing to the difficulty of the terrain and because the Athenians stood their ground and did not give way (προυθυμοῦντο)
	4.14.3 – The confusion was great, especially since the two sides exchanged their usual manner of naval fighting. The Lacedaemonians virtually fought a sea battle from the land because of their enthusiasm and shock, and the Athenians were fighting a land battle from the ships when they were winning and wanted to capitalize on their present fortune as much as possible (προθυμίας)
4.26.4 – Athenian lose enthusiasm because an unexpectedly long amount of time passes without surrender from those besieged without supplies on the island (ἀθυμίαν)	
4.29.3-4 – Demosthenes gains ῥώμη after the fire, since the burning of the brush cover improves the Athenians’ tactical position (ῥώμην)	
4.36.2 – Successful sneak attack against the Spartans instills ῥώμη in the Athenian and allied troops (ἐπέρρωσεν)	

Spartans at Pylos have no shortage of προθυμία, but the Athenians still prevail because they have ῥώμη. Although Thucydides identifies προθυμία as one of the main qualities necessary for success in war,⁵⁷⁶ it is not enough

⁵⁷⁶ See above, chapter 1.2.

for the Spartans at Pylos; the desire and willingness to fight cannot alone bring victory. Huart identifies προθυμία as a near synonym of ῥώμη.⁵⁷⁷ The linkage between the two concepts appears most clearly in their verbal forms, and the LSJ even gives προθυμέομαι as a synonym of ἔρρωμαι.⁵⁷⁸ Thucydides, however, often uses the words with a subtle distinction, with προθυμία meaning only willingness or eagerness to fight and ῥώμη signifying confidence based on actual material or circumstantial advantage. One could describe ῥώμη as προθυμία based on concrete reasons for expecting victory. The campaign at Pylos offers an opportunity to distinguish between προθυμία and ῥώμη, two important psychological terms that can both overlap significantly with the English concept of morale.

Here ῥώμη characterizes the Athenians in contrast to the Lacedaemonians, who show much προθυμία but ultimately fail. Thucydides' emphasizes the importance of the unexpected Athenian triumph here by explicitly highlighting a number of reversals, such as the Athenians on land fighting the Lacedaemonians on ships and the Spartans surrendering on the island rather than fighting to the death like at Thermopylae.⁵⁷⁹ The explicit comparison of the Spartans' glorious death at Thermopylae to their surrender on Sphacteria helps explain why the surrender was so shocking to the rest of the Greeks.⁵⁸⁰ Another element of reversal in Thucydides' description is his repeated attribution of προθυμία to the Spartans. As shown above, the Athenians are linked with προθυμία early in the *Histories*, but the Spartans show this quality more at Pylos, even though it does not enable them to win

⁵⁷⁷ Huart (1968) 417 n 3.

⁵⁷⁸ LSJ, s.v. ῥώννυμι II 2.

⁵⁷⁹ Reversal of the land/sea antithesis: T 4.12.3, 4.14.3; comparison to Thermopylae: 4.36.3.

⁵⁸⁰ Rood (1998) 37-39.

and even implicitly hinders them in one case. In fact, this whole campaign, based on Demosthenes' tactic of *epiteichismos*, or "forward-basing," shows clearly how different the Peloponnesian War was from the kind of warfare practiced in the Archaic and early Classical periods.⁵⁸¹

Initially, Thucydides describes both Athenian and Lacedaemonian morale in terms of προθυμία. In the early phase of the campaign, Demosthenes manipulates some enthusiasm out of his troops because of their precarious position, but the Spartans have much more enthusiasm because they are defending their own territory. The first mention of Athenian προθυμία in this episode describes troops whom Demosthenes tries to force into showing προθυμία. He orders a small number of picked troops to guard a poorly fortified area, calculating that their vulnerability will increase their enthusiasm:

αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπολεξάμενος ἐκ πάντων ἐξήκοντα ὀπλίτας καὶ τοξότας ὀλίγους ἐχώρει ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, ἥ μάλιστα ἐκείνους προσεδέχετο πειράσειν ἀποβαίνειν, ἐς χωρία μὲν χαλεπὰ καὶ πετρώδη πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος τετραμμένα, σφίσι δὲ τοῦ τείχους ταύτῃ ἀσθενεστάτου ὄντος ἐσβιάσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἡγεῖτο προθυμήσεσθαι.⁵⁸²

This is the first mention of προθυμία in the Pylos episode and the only referring to the Athenians, who were at their weakest at this point, since the initial incursion under Demosthenes is not extensively planned or supplied. Later, once the tactical situation changes dramatically from the fire and reinforcements, the Athenian leadership and then the men themselves gain ῥώμη.

⁵⁸¹ Hanson (2005) 111.

⁵⁸² T 4.9.2: "He himself chose from all the men sixty hoplites and some bowmen and went outside the wall to the sea, where he most expected the enemy to try to disembark, a difficult and rocky place facing the open sea; but, since the wall was weakest there, he thought his men would be compelled to show enthusiasm."

The theme of Spartan προθυμία at Pylos first appears in their initial attack on the Athenian fortification, when they act just as Demosthenes expects and fail to force a landing:

καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἔκ τε γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἡμύνοντο· οἱ δὲ κατ' ὀλίγας ναῦς διελόμενοι, διότι οὐκ ἦν πλέοσι προσχεῖν, καὶ ἀναπαύοντες ἐν τῷ μέρει τοὺς ἐπίπλους ἐποιοῦντο, προθυμία τε πάσῃ χρώμενοι καὶ παρακελευσμῶ, εἴ πως ὥσάμενοι ἔλοιεν τὸ τεῖχος.⁵⁸³

Thucydides account here shows the corollary to Demosthenes' argument in 4.10 that the Athenian experience (ἐμπειρία) of naval landings will give them an advantage over the Spartans; that is, the Spartans inexperience causes them to make grave tactical errors in the amphibious assault.⁵⁸⁴ Not only do the Spartans attack exactly where Demosthenes expects, but they also give up their numerical advantage by breaking into small groups. After including a detailed account of the noteworthy but ultimately futile actions of Brasidas in the landing, Thucydides reiterates the difficulties that the Lacedaemonians faced despite their enthusiasm for defending their territory: οἱ δ' ἄλλοι προθυμοῦντο μὲν, ἀδύνατοι δ' ἦσαν ἀποβῆναι τῶν τε χωρίων χαλεπότητι καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων μενόντων καὶ οὐδὲν ὑποχωρούντων.⁵⁸⁵ Although Thucydides does not attribute ἀνδρεία to the Athenian defenders here, they do show what was termed 'passive courage' above. The Athenians do not have the same reputation for hoplite valor as the Spartans, but their

⁵⁸³ T 4.11.3: "The Athenians had thus to defend themselves on both sides, from the land and from the sea; the enemy rowing up in small detachments, the one relieving the other—it being impossible for many to bring to at once—and showing great enthusiasm and cheering each other on, in the endeavor to force a passage and to take the fortification" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

⁵⁸⁴ Lazenby (2004) 72 notes that this is one of the rare occasions in ancient history when a shoreline was defended

⁵⁸⁵ T. 4.12.2: "The others had enthusiasm but were unable to disembark owing to the difficulty of the terrain and because the Athenians stood their ground and did not give an inch."

experience in shore fighting enables them to triumph over the utterly inexperienced Spartan marines.

As the battle turns against the Spartans, προθυμία even implicitly hinders the Spartans, since Thucydides explains that προθυμία and ἔκπληξις caused the other Spartan contingent to fight a land battle from the sea:

ἐγένετό τε ὁ θόρυβος μέγας καὶ ἀντηλλαγμένου τοῦ ἑκατέρων τρόπου περὶ τὰς ναῦς· οἳ τε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπὸ προθυμίας καὶ ἐκπλήξεως ὥς εἰπεῖν ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ ἐκ γῆς ἐναυμάχουν, οἳ τε Ἀθηναῖοι κρατοῦντες καὶ βουλόμενοι τῇ παρούσῃ τύχῃ ὥς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπεξελθεῖν ἀπὸ νεῶν ἐπεζομάχουν.⁵⁸⁶

By joining προθυμία with the negative quality ἔκπληξις,⁵⁸⁷ Thucydides shows that προθυμία actually caused the Lacedaemonian soldiers to make a grave mistake by running into the sea to defend their ships. Thematically, Thucydides' repeated reversal of the Spartan-land/Athenian-sea antithesis emphasizes the shocking Athenian victory in this phase of the campaign. No one, including the other Athenian commanders, thought Demosthenes could hold this beachhead in Messenia.⁵⁸⁸ From a practical perspective, however, the Spartans' inability to dislodge the Athenians makes perfect sense; they simply did not have the necessary experience and knowledge to perform well in this type of warfare, but Demosthenes says explicitly and Thucydides shows implicitly that the Athenians were mentally well equipped for this kind of war.

⁵⁸⁶ T 4.14.3: "Great was the melee, and quite in contradiction to the naval tactics usual to the two combatants; the Lacedaemonians in their excitement and dismay being actually engaged in a sea-fight on land, while the victorious Athenians, in their eagerness to push their success as far as possible, were carrying on a land-fight from their ships" (tr. Crawley).

⁵⁸⁷ See Desmond (2006) 361, who identifies ἔκπληξις as "the most vehement [of Thucydides' words for fear] – 'terror, consternation, panic' – with the implication of being beside oneself, struck out of one's wits with fear."

⁵⁸⁸ Roisman (1993) 33-34 argues that Demosthenes did not disclose his plan even to Eurymedon and Sophocles because of the great opposition such a novel strategy would have caused.

And yet the Athenian troops' reasoning also undermines their morale. There are a number of factors that cause difficulty for the Athenians as the battle turns into a protracted siege, including lack of food and water,⁵⁸⁹ but Thucydides describes the biggest blow to their morale in terms of ἀθυμία. When the men trapped on the island hold out longer than expected, the Athenians become discouraged:

ἀθυμίαν τε πλείστην ὁ χρόνος παρείχε παρὰ λόγον ἐπιγιγνώμενος, οὓς ὥντο ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων ἐκπολιορκήσιν ἐν νήσῳ τε ἐρήμῃ καὶ ὕδατι ἀλμυρῷ χρωμένους.⁵⁹⁰

This is the last time in his account of the affair at Pylos that Thucydides describes either side's morale in terms of προθυμία or ἀθυμία. Looking only at προθυμία makes it seem like the Lacedaemonians have better morale than the Athenians in this campaign, but it actually ends in a colossal Lacedaemonian defeat. Therefore, adding ῥώμη is necessary to understand morale in this episode. Plus, the changes in moral advantage add suspense and vividness to the account of the important Pylos campaign.

The second episode of the Pylos campaign builds on the same themes, but here Thucydides emphasizes Athenian ῥώμη rather than προθυμία. Although the initial Athenian forces under Demosthenes were no longer enthusiastic, the reinforcements under Cleon represent a serious commitment of mental and material resources by the Athenians. And despite the feelings of his men before Cleon's arrival, Demosthenes has gained confidence from the recent fire on Sphacteria:

τὸν δὲ Δημοσθένη προσέλαβε πυνθανόμενος τὴν ἀπόβασιν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νήσον διανοεῖσθαι. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται κακοπαθοῦντες τοῦ

⁵⁸⁹ T 4.26.1-3.

⁵⁹⁰ 4.26.4: "And the time continuing to pass contrary to their calculation caused the greatest loss of enthusiasm, since they thought they would reduce men on a desert island using brackish water by siege in a few days."

χωρίου τῇ ἀπορίᾳ καὶ μᾶλλον πολιορκούμενοι ἢ πολιορκούντες
ὥρμητο διακινδυνεύσαι. καὶ αὐτῷ ἔτι ῥώμην καὶ ἡ νῆσος
ἐμπρησθεῖσα παρέσχεν.⁵⁹¹

Just like at 7.18.2-3 concerning Spartan ῥώμη, Thucydides relates at length the reasons for Demosthenes possessing ῥώμη in 4.29.3-4, and in both passages ῥώμη is based on a reasoned calculation of tactical superiority. Demosthenes knows that the fire will prevent another disaster like the one he suffered in the wooded areas of Aetolia,⁵⁹² and the lack of cover allows a much better estimation of the enemies' true strength and position.

In the final assault against the Lacedaemonian outpost on Sphacteria, the Athenian and their allies defeat the Spartan hoplites because the light troops' ranged tactics enable them to wear down the Spartan hoplites with minimal losses.⁵⁹³ An unnamed Messenian general hands final victory to the Athenians with a successful sneak attack that Thucydides compares to Thermopylae.⁵⁹⁴

λαβὼν δὲ ἃ ῥήτησατο, ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς ὀρμήσας ὥστε μὴ ἰδεῖν
ἐκείνους, κατὰ τὸ αἰεὶ παρείκον τοῦ κρημνώδους τῆς νήσου
προσβαίνων, καὶ ἦ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χωρίου ἰσχύι πιστεύσαντες
οὐκ ἐφύλασσον, χαλεπῶς τε καὶ μόλις περιελθὼν ἔλαθε, καὶ ἐπὶ
τοῦ μετεώρου ἐξαπίνης ἀναφανείς κατὰ νώτου αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν
τῷ ἀδοκῆτῳ ἐξέπληξε, τοὺς δὲ ἃ προσεδέχοντο ἰδόντας πολλῷ
μᾶλλον ἐπέρρωσεν.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹¹ T 4.29.2: "His choice fell upon Demosthenes because he heard that he was contemplating a descent on the island; the soldiers distressed by the difficulties of the position, and rather besieged than besiegers, being eager to fight it out, while the firing of the island had raised the morale of the general even more" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

⁵⁹² See Roisman (1993) 37-38, who argues that Demosthenes did not necessarily plan the fire on Sphacteria because of his experience of the fire in Aetolia, since the two fires did not serve the same function; indeed, the fire on Sphacteria before his assault allowed Demosthenes to plan at leisure with detailed knowledge of the terrain and the Spartan troops.

⁵⁹³ Lazenby (2004) 78, Roisman (1993) 39.

⁵⁹⁴ Hornblower 2 191-192.

⁵⁹⁵ T 4.36.2: "Upon receiving what he asked for, he started from a point out of sight in order not to be seen by the enemy, and creeping on wherever the precipices of the island permitted, and where the Lacedaemonians, trusting to the strength of the ground, kept no guard, succeeded after the greatest difficulty in getting round without their seeing him, and suddenly

The sudden surprise attack causes ἑκπληξις for the Lacedaemonians, but gives ῥώμη to the Athenians and their allies. Thucydides deliberately contrasts the unexpected causing terror to the Lacedaemonians and what is expected raising the morale of the Athenians and their allies. In fact, he says that the Athenians' morale increased much more than the Lacedaemonians' fell.

Although Thucydides only uses ῥώμη related words twice in his description of the Pylos campaign, they appear at crucial moments. These two occurrences, when Demosthenes is encouraged to undertake an assault on the island and when the surprise rear attack of the Messenians encourages the waiting Athenian forces, show that ῥώμη is an important psychological descriptor in Thucydides' account of the fighting on Sphacteria. Thucydides emphasizes the Lacedaemonians' προθυμία in a number of phases of the Pylos campaign, but the Athenians' possession of ῥώμη shows that they have not only enthusiasm for fighting but also a rational expectation of success. Demosthenes first gains ῥώμη when the fire on the island greatly improves the tactical situation for the Athenians. Once the remaining Spartan troops are suffering a surprise attack from the rear, the Athenians have clear tactical and mental superiority. Thucydides' shift from describing morale in terms of προθυμία to ῥώμη shows that the Athenians enjoy a clear advantage in the later part of the campaign and foreshadows their resounding victory. Unlike the Lacedaemonians' early προθυμία, which does not assure their victory, the Athenians' ῥώμη is decisive.

appeared on the high grounding their rear, causing panic in the surprised enemy and raising the morale of his expectant friends" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

4.6 Conclusion

Thucydides' use of the term *προθυμία* and its variants overlaps significantly with the English concept of morale. Like morale, *προθυμία* is one of the key elements of a successful military effort, and both can also play an important role in nonmilitary contexts. And yet, the ability of fear both to raise and lower *προθυμία* suggests that it is more emotional than rational, and *προθυμία* can sometimes be excessive or harmful. In fact, a complete lack or great excess of *προθυμία* causes a city to become dysfunctional, like during the plague or times of *stasis*. On the other hand, a successful alliance depends on the *προθυμία* of its member states, and *προθυμία* is even stipulated in the one treaty that Thucydides records verbatim. Thucydides also shows that generals have a great effect on *προθυμία* both actively and passively, and they can even turn it toward peace in the right circumstances. Speakers have limited success by referring to past *προθυμία*, since the persuasive power of the *προθυμία* that one has shown decreases over time. Most significantly, morale can be tracked in the Sicilian Expedition by looking at rising and falling *προθυμία* (see table 4.4, above), and the relationship of the *λόγοι* to the *ἔργα* highlights the effective leadership of Hermocrates and Gylippus, the unsuccessful generalship of Nicias, and especially the major effects on both sides' morale of Alcibiades' defection. Furthermore, the Syracusans combine *τόλμα* and *προθυμία* throughout their fight against the Athenians, just like the Athenians claim to have done against the Persians (1.74.2). Thus, *προθυμία* is an important strand in Thucydides' complex analysis of morale throughout the war and especially in Sicily. And yet, understanding Thucydides' account of morale completely also requires an investigation of *ῥώμη*.

CHAPTER 5

A NEW VOCABULARY FOR MORALE: *RHOME*

5.1 Introduction

Although Thucydides does not have a single word that corresponds to English ‘morale,’ the term *ῥώμη* often comes close in meaning to English ‘high morale.’ Thucydides innovatively uses *ῥώμη*, which originally referred to bodily power, to describe the psychological strength and military force of the various states and leaders involved in the Peloponnesian War. Unlike earlier authors, such as Xenophanes and Aeschylus, who refer to *ῥώμη* as the physical in contrast to the mental, Thucydidean *ῥώμη* often depends on reason as well as material power. Although Euripides innovates by using *ῥώμη* to refer to the impersonal force of wind and battle, Thucydides considers *ῥώμη* a purely human characteristic. In Thucydides’ *Histories*, one side or the other typically has the edge in *ῥώμη*, so tracking this concept reveals Thucydides’ analysis of the psychological and material advantages enjoyed by different cities. Thucydides emphasizes the possession or lack of *ῥώμη* at pivotal moments in the war, such as the episode at Pylos, Athens’ decision to negotiate the Peace of Nicias, the departure and failure of the Sicilian Expedition, and Athens’ recovery in book eight (see Table 5.1). In addition, the way Thucydides deploys the terminology in direct and indirect speech adds to his characterization of political and military leaders. The importance of *ῥώμη* to Thucydides’ psychology of war is most clear in his account of the Sicilian Expedition, where the author carefully uses the term in narrative and

speeches to explore how and why so great an Athenian force was so utterly destroyed.

Table 5.1 – 'Ρώμη-ρώννυμι in Thucydides	
<i>In reference to Athenians and allies</i>	<i>In reference to Peloponnesians and allies</i>
	1.49.3 – this sea-battle was more a matter of spirit and power than skill (ρώμη)
2.8.1 & 2.8.4 – feeling on both sides at the beginning of the war (ἔρρωντο, ἔρρωτο)	2.8.1 & 2.8.4 – feeling on both sides at the beginning of the war (ἔρρωντο, ἔρρωτο)
2.43.6 – Pericles' Funeral Oration: going soft is worse than dying with power and common hope (ρώμης)	
3.6.1 – the Athenians are encouraged by the stillness of the Mytilenaeans and assemble their allies (ἐπιρρωσθέντες)	
	3.16.1 – most of the Peloponnesian allies dally because of the harvest and their weakness at campaigning (ἀρρωστιά)
4.18.3 – the Peloponnesians argue that their current power should not lead the Athenians to think that fortune will always be with them (ρώμην)	
4.29.2 – Demosthenes gains further confidence from Sphacteria being burned (ρώμην)	
4.36.2 – the Athenians gain confidence when they see their unit attacking the Spartans from behind (ἐπέρρωσεν)	
4.72.1 – the Boeotians gain confidence when Brasidas appears (ἐρρώσθησαν)	
5.14.1 – the Athenians begin to negotiate for peace because they no longer have a firm expectation of power (ρώμης)	
6.17.8 – Alcibiades argues that Lacedaemonian strength is limited to land (ἔρρωνται)	
6.31.1 – the power they see encourages the Athenians as the ships depart (ρώμη)	
6.85.1 – Euphemus argues that the ρώμη of allies is beneficial to Athens' imperial interests (ρώμην)	
	6.93.1 – Alcibiades' advice encourages the Spartans (ἐπερρώσθησαν)
	7.2.1 – the arrival of Gylippus encourages the Syracusans (ἐπερρώσθησαν)
	7.7.4 – completing counter-wall encourages Syracusans even more (ἐπέρρωντο)

Table 5.1 (Continued)	
7.15.2 – Nicias refers to his poor physical health in the letter (ἐρρώμην)	
	7.17.3 – good news from Sicily encourages the Corinthians, who send reinforcements (ἐπέρρωντο)
	7.18.2 – the Athenians' two-front war and their feelings of righteousness encourage the Lacedaemonians (ῥώμη)
7.42.2 – Demosthenes' arrival encourages the Athenians (ῥώμη)	
	7.46.1 – unexpected victory encourages the Syracusans (ἀναρρωσθέντες)
7.47.1 – Athenian generals deliberate because of their lack of strength (ἀρρωστίαν)	
7.63.4 – Nicias argues that Athens' skill will overcome Syracuse's lucky energy (ῥώμης)	
7.75.4 – the Athenians leave behind the wounded, and whoever had bodily strength lamented (ῥώμη)	
7.77.2 – Nicias mentions his poor physical health in his final speech (ῥώμη)	
	8.78.1 – the Peloponnesian soldiery gets restive because their strength is being wasted (ἔρρωντο)
	8.83.2 – Tissaphernes becomes less able to give pay and is hated because of the betrayal of Alcibiades (ἀρρωστότερον)
8.89.1 – those disenchanted with the oligarchy gain confidence when Alcibiades' message is announced (ἐπέρρωσαν)	
8.106.5 – announcement of the victory at Cynossema turns Athenian spirits around (ἐπερρώσθησαν)	

Words from the semantic field of ῥώμη-ῥώννυμι often occur at crucial descriptions of morale, including both the beginning and ending of the Archidamian War. Thucydides' repetition of ῥώννυμι in 2.8, an important chapter because of its authorial comments on different states' thoughts and feelings at the outset of the war,⁵⁹⁶ indicates the importance of ῥώμη in his understanding of morale. Thucydides' account of the feeling on both sides at

⁵⁹⁶ Hornblower 1 245.

the outset of the war is one such case, and it is marked with rhetorical emphasis through repetition of πολὺς and precise construction:⁵⁹⁷

ὀλίγον τε ἐπενόουν οὐδὲν ἀμφότεροι, ἀλλ' ἔρρωντο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἀπεικότως· ἀρχόμενοι γὰρ πάντες ὀξύτερον ἀντιλαμβάνονται, τότε δὲ καὶ νεότης πολλὴ μὲν οὔσα ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, πολλὴ δ' ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις οὐκ ἀκουσίως ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας ἤππετο τοῦ πολέμου, ἢ τε ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς ἅπασα μετέωρος ἦν ξυνιουσῶν τῶν πρώτων πόλεων.⁵⁹⁸

Here ῥώννυμι is very close in meaning to προθυμέομαι, since the eagerness of the youth is based on inexperience. This contrasts with many of the examples discussed below, in which experience and knowledge are often the factors that differentiate ῥώμη from προθυμία. Thucydides uses ῥώννυμι because he is making a general statement about war, that combatants are always mentally and materially strongest at the outset, and because the rarer ῥώννυμι is more forceful than προθυμέομαι. Thucydides concludes his description of Greek morale at the outset of the war by repeating ῥώννυμι in his description of nominal neutrals: ἔρρωτό τε πᾶς καὶ ἰδιώτης καὶ πόλις εἴ τι δύναίτο καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ξυνεπιλαμβάνειν αὐτοῖς· ἐν τούτῳ τε κεκωλύσθαι ἐδόκει ἐκάστῳ τὰ πράγματα ᾧ μὴ τις αὐτὸς παρέσται.⁵⁹⁹ Thus, Thucydides considers cities and individuals “to be moral agents about whom the same sort of language could be used.”⁶⁰⁰ By talking about cities

⁵⁹⁷ Rusten (1990) 104.

⁵⁹⁸ T 2.8.1: “And if both sides nourished the boldest hopes and had the highest morale for the war, this was only natural. Zeal is always at its height at the commencement of an undertaking; and on this particular occasion Peloponnese and Athens were both full of young men whose inexperience made them eager to take part in military action, while the rest of Hellas stood straining with excitement at the conflict of its leading cities” (adapted from Crawley’s translation).

⁵⁹⁹ T 2.8.4: “Every individual and city, if he was at all able, confidently joined in helping in word and deed; and, in this time, each man thought matters would be hindered if he himself did not take part.”

⁶⁰⁰ Hornblower 1 247.

and individuals in the same terms, Thucydides shows that he also conceptualizes the morale of both in the same way.

Thucydides also relates *ῥώμη* to the conclusion of the Archidamian War. He explains that the Athenians no longer believed they could count on their *ῥώμη* when they decided to negotiate with the Lacedaemonians:

ξυνέβη τε εὐθύς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει μάχην καὶ τὴν Ῥαμφίου ἀναχώρησιν ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ὥστε πολέμου μὲν μηδὲν ἔτι ἄψασθαι μηδετέρους, πρὸς δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον τὴν γνώμην εἶχον, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι πληγέντες ἐπὶ τε τῷ Δηλίῳ καὶ δι' ὀλίγου αὖθις ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ῥώμης πιστὴν ἔτι, ἥπερ οὐ προσεδέχοντο πρότερον τὰς σπονδὰς, δοκοῦντες τῇ παρουσίᾳ εὐτυχίᾳ καθυπέρτεροι γενήσεσθαι.⁶⁰¹

This is the first part of the final and most detailed of what Hornblower identifies as six excursus on both sides' morale in the unit formed by book four and book five up to chapter twenty-five,⁶⁰² and Thucydides' use of *ῥώμη* here combined with the repetition of *ἄπτομαι πολέμου* also recalls his explanation of morale at 2.8. Thus, Thucydides describes morale at both the beginning and the end of the Archidamian War in terms of *ῥώμη*. Although Graves argues that *ῥώμη* at 5.14.1 refers strictly to material strength, he grants that it clearly means mental confidence at other places and cites 2.43.3 and 7.75.3 as instances where it could be mental or material.⁶⁰³ Even when the more material or physical senses of the word predominate, Thucydides still links *ῥώμη* to morale, since material and physical strength typically induce confidence.⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰¹ T 5.14.1: "And it came to pass immediately after the battle at Amphipolis and the return of Rhamphias from Thessaly that neither side still took part in military action at all, but they instead became intent on peace; the Athenians because they were disheartened over Delium and a little later Amphipolis and because they no longer had a firm expectation of strength, which caused them not to accept the treaty before, when in their momentary good fortune they thought they would come out on top."

⁶⁰² Hornblower 2 109.

⁶⁰³ Graves (1891) s.v. 5.14.1, also arguing that the "passive of *ῥώννυμι* seems generally used of eagerness and confidence" in Thucydides.

⁶⁰⁴ See below on 6.31.2, which Hornblower 3 383 compares to the present passage.

Thucydides' explanation of the Athenian decision to negotiate also echoes part of the Spartans' plea to come to terms while the Pylos campaign is still in progress: ὥστε οὐκ εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς διὰ τὴν παροῦσαν νῦν ῥώμην πόλεώς τε καὶ τῶν προσγεγεννημένων καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης οἶεσθαι αἰεὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἔσεσθαι.⁶⁰⁵ Thus, Thucydides confirms Athenian morale has worsened because of misfortune, just as the Lacedaemonian speakers suggested it eventually would. Although actually accepting alliance with the Lacedaemonians before the conclusion of the Pylos campaign would have deprived the Athenians of the prisoners who became a powerful bargaining chip, both of these passages are also part of a wider contrast between Athenian πλεονεξία and Spartan concern for securing εὐτυχία that runs through the whole Pylos episode.⁶⁰⁶ The Lacedaemonian ambassadors fail to persuade the Athenians, but they are right in broad terms when they explain that good fortune will not always last.⁶⁰⁷ Thucydides confirms that the defeats at Delium and Amphipolis were enough to lower Athenian morale significantly, at least until the Athenians set their sights on Sicily.

As Table 5.1 shows, ῥώμη and related words appear at a number of pivotal moments in books six and seven. Romilly has noted that Thucydides creates a connecting thread in the narrative by using ῥώμη and ῥώννυμι to describe morale starting with the Spartan reaction to Alcibiades' speech at 6.88 and ending at 7.46.1 with the recovery of Syracusan morale after

⁶⁰⁵ T 4.18.3: "So you should not believe that fortune will always be with you because of the current strength of your city and empire right now."

⁶⁰⁶ Connor (1984) 120.

⁶⁰⁷ Hornblower (1987) 47-49 suggests a two-way influence between Thucydides and the rhetorical tradition, noting a similarity between the argument at 4.18.3-4 and the *Rhetoric to Alexander* 1425a36ff.

Demosthenes' defeat at Epipolae,⁶⁰⁸ but the thread extends throughout Thucydides' account of the Sicilian expedition. Despite Lacedaemonian power on land (6.17.8), the Athenians direct their *ρώμη* against Sicily (6.31.1). When Alcibiades defects, his sound military advice instills *ρώμη* in the enemies of Athens (6.91.3, 7.2.1, 7.17.3, 7.18.2). Lacedaemonian help causes the Syracusans to gain *ρώμη* (7.2.1, 7.7.4), while Nicias' reference to his poor physical *ρώμη* mimics the effect of his leadership on Athenian military *ρώμη* (7.15.2). Despite a brief resurgence of Athenian *ρώμη* when Demosthenes brings reinforcements (7.42.2), the Syracusans maintain their psychological edge (7.46.1). These reverses lead to the utter destruction of Athenian *ρώμη* in Sicily (7.47.1, 7.63.4, 7.75.4, 7.77.2). Thucydides uses the vocabulary of *ρώμη* to highlight his analysis of morale during the war in Sicily. By carefully deploying the word group in various contexts, he is able not only to show how morale varied on both sides but also to suggest why the Athenians ultimately failed in Sicily.

The word group I typically refer to as *ρώμη* includes the nominal form and the verb *ρώννυμι*, usually in the perfect *ἔρρωμαι*. The forms *ρώμη* and *ἔρρωμαι* occur earliest and may be linked with the Homeric *ρώομαι* ("rush with vigor, quickness"), but the etymology is uncertain.⁶⁰⁹ The basic meaning of the verb is "to be strong, well" and the sense sometimes approaches that of *ὑγιαίνειν*.⁶¹⁰ According to Chantraine, the noun generally means "force, vigor" and usually has a physical sense close to *ὑγεία* and *ἰσχύς*; it suggests, however, a more active force than *ἰσχύς*, since it can refer to the power of an

⁶⁰⁸ Romilly (1956) 36-37.

⁶⁰⁹ Chantraine (1999), s.v. *ρώννυμι*, *ρώομαι*. In Thucydides, only Nicias uses *ἔρρωμαι* as a synonym of *ὑγιαίνειν* (7.15.2).

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*

army or the force of love.⁶¹¹ In Thucydides, ἔρρωμαι occurs six times in the simplex and also appears compounded with ἀνα- once and with ἐπι- eight times.⁶¹² To refer to a lack of ῥώμη, Thucydides uses the abstract noun ἀρρωστία twice and a comparative form of the adjective ἀρρωστος once.⁶¹³ The noun ῥώμη occurs twelve times in Thucydides and can refer to physical, mental, or military power, and most occurrences of the word partake of more than one sense or appear in a context that prevents certain identification.⁶¹⁴ The verbal forms also have a range of meaning but seem to refer especially to confidence or high morale.⁶¹⁵ Good English translations for ῥώμη in Thucydides include “confidence” (7.18.2), “strength” (6.85.1), and “health” (7.77.2); similarly, ἔρρωμαι can mean “become confident” (4.72.1), “be strong” (8.78.1), and “be healthy” (7.15.2). And yet translating ῥώμη with different English words and distinguishing the physical from more metaphorical senses can obscure the essential unity of what is a single word or a group of words from a single root in the original Greek. Despite the different contexts in which they appear, the words ῥώμη and ἔρρωμαι always refer to some kind of strength or force.

⁶¹¹ *Ibid.*; cf. Huart (1968) 416-418, which defines ῥώμη in Thucydides as “énergie” or “ardeur.”

⁶¹² ἔρρωμαι: 2.8.1, 2.8.4, 4.72.1, 6.17.8, 7.15.2, 8.78.1; ἀνερρωμαι: 7.46.1; ἐπερρωμαι: 3.6.1, 4.36.2, 6.93.1, 7.2.2, 7.7.4, 7.17.3, 8.89.1, 8.106.5; see also Huart (1968) 416-418.

⁶¹³ ἀρρωστία: 3.15.2, 7.47.1; ἀρρωστος: 8.83.2; see Huart (1968) 418 n; Chaintraine (1999) *loc. cit.* says that it is impossible to account for the σ in this form etymologically.

⁶¹⁴ Huart (1968) 417 n 2 attempts to distinguish the different senses, but this approach risks dividing what is a unified Greek concept.

⁶¹⁵ A notable exception is ἐρρώμην (T 7.15.2) in the letter of Nicias, who also uses the noun ῥώμη to refer to his bodily strength in his final speech (7.77.2).

5.2 – *ῥώμη in Sicily*

Half of Thucydides' uses of words from the ῥώμη-ῥώννυμι family occur in books six and seven, since Thucydides makes a number of observations about the morale of cities in mainland Greece as well as concentrating especially on the alternations of ῥώμη between the Syracusans and the Athenians in Sicily. The concept of ῥώμη is not only an important part of Thucydides' assessment of the psychological state of cities and soldiers; it also features prominently in the words and thoughts of generals like Nicias and Alcibiades. Thus, analysis of ῥώμη in Thucydides' account of the Sicilian Expedition serves as an excellent case study for the different ways in which ῥώμη appears in both the narrative and speeches. At the sailing of the Athenian expedition, Athens possesses great ῥώμη,⁶¹⁶ but over the course of the campaign, the Athenians suffer a failure of ῥώμη while the Syracusans gain it. As Thucydides develops the motif of rising and falling ῥώμη, he carefully deploys the different lexical values of words from the ῥώμη-ῥώννυμι family to comment on why the Athenians fail.

Although Romilly and Hornblower have noted Thucydides' use of this word group to describe morale during the Sicilian expedition,⁶¹⁷ no one has yet fully explored the thematic significance of all of Thucydides' usages in books six and seven. The Athenians lose the contest of ῥώμη not so much because of material disadvantage, but because their leaders do not rationally utilize their military power.⁶¹⁸ His account of the expedition allows Thucydides to explore the different meanings of ῥώμη, and speeches of Alcibiades and

⁶¹⁶ T 6.31.1.

⁶¹⁷ Romilly (1956) 36-38; Hornblower 3 383-384, 571, 573, 621, 630, 632.

⁶¹⁸ See Kallet (2001) 147-182 on the lack of γνώμη in the Athenian leadership in Sicily.

Nicias play out a struggle over the term's lexical and practical values. Nicias' relationship to this term also contributes to the theme of 'tragic' failure, since he uses *ῥώμη* in reference to his poor health as the narrative recounts Syracuse gaining *ῥώμη* at the expense of Athens. Tracking how *ῥώμη* shifts from Athens to Syracuse and her Peloponnesian allies even reveals Thucydides' own analysis of how Athenian morale broke apart as their enemies gained confidence. More than any other lexical category, Thucydides' use of *ῥώμη-ῥώννυμι* shows an appreciation for the importance of what English designates 'morale'.⁶¹⁹ Proper understanding of the interplay between character, experiences, and events is crucial for a general or a historian, and Thucydides deploys *ῥώμη* vocabulary to comment on how well the political and military leaders analyzed events during the war in Sicily.

Thucydides uses the noun *ῥώμη* to describe Athenian power at its highest and lowest points, the glorious departure of the expedition and the pitiful abandonment of the sick and wounded at the camp outside Syracuse. When the expedition is on the point of sailing, Thucydides highlights Athenian *ῥώμη*:

καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ, ὡς ἤδη ἔμελλον μετὰ κινδύνων ἀλλήλους ἀπολιπεῖν, μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐσήει τὰ δεινὰ ἢ ὅτε ἐψηφίζοντο πλεῖν· ὅμως δὲ τῇ παρούσῃ ῥώμῃ, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκάστων ὧν ἐώρων, τῇ ὅψει ἀνεθάρσουν.⁶²⁰

The meaning of *ῥώμη* in this passage has troubled scholars, since "strength of resources" would be redundant with *τὸ πλῆθος ἐκάστων* but "confidence" would contradict what was said about apprehensions in the first part of the

⁶¹⁹ See section 1.1 for a definition of morale.

⁶²⁰ T 6.31.1: "At the present moment, when they were about to leave one another amidst danger, the gravity of the undertaking came to them more than when they voted to sail; nevertheless, in their present consciousness of strength, through the multitude of each of the things they were seeing, they were encouraged by the sight."

sentence.⁶²¹ Although Dover rejects attempts to emend the text, he admits that the two datives, ῥώμῃ and ὄψει, are “stylistically objectionable.”⁶²² He then denies the possibility that ῥώμῃ here could mean “confidence” or “energy” and concludes that it must refer to material strength, despite the tautology.⁶²³ Hornblower, however, follows Classen and Marchant by arguing that ῥώμῃ in this sentence partakes of both its overlapping senses and refers to spirit and material strength.⁶²⁴ This interpretation leads Hornblower to translate the phrase τῇ παρούσῃ ῥώμῃ quite elegantly as “in their present consciousness of strength.” As argued above, Thucydides often uses ῥώμῃ to mean confidence based on military resources.

Furthermore, Thucydides emphasizes the high emotional tension of the Athenians by repeating παρών to express the near simultaneity of the contradictory feelings of apprehension and confidence.⁶²⁵ Although Athens is at the height of her power, the Athenians are not completely confident. The variability of their emotions, especially at such an important occasion, suggests that their morale is fragile and subject to the same variation. Moreover, the emphasis on sight hints that the Athenians are dangerously misjudging the power of the expedition.⁶²⁶ In fact, this passage functions together with Thucydides’ description of the abandonment of the Athenian camp, where Thucydides repeats many of the same terms, including ῥώμῃ.⁶²⁷

⁶²¹ Hornblower 3 383.

⁶²² Gomme, Andrewes and Dover (1970) 291-292.

⁶²³ *Ibid.*

⁶²⁴ Classen (1881) 197; Marchant (1909), s.v. 6.31.2; Hornblower 3 383.

⁶²⁵ Hornblower 3 384.

⁶²⁶ Kallet (2001) 49-50.

⁶²⁷ Kallet (2001) 51, which identifies the parallelism between these two passages, argues that this relationship helps “the reader think about the relationship among size, resources, and strength.”

Repetition of ῥώμη at these two key moments alerts the reader that Thucydides is offering analysis of the state of Athenian morale at these two momentous departures.

In a passage rich with Homeric allusions,⁶²⁸ Thucydides relates the total failure of ῥώμη as the Athenians leave their camp near Syracuse. Here ῥώμη does not refer to morale explicitly, but leaving wounded comrades behind has a powerful impact on morale.⁶²⁹

πρὸς γὰρ ἀντιβολίαν καὶ ὀλοφυρμὸν τραπόμενοι ἐς ἀπορίαν
καθίστασαν, ἄγειν τε σφᾶς ἀξιοῦντες καὶ ἕνα ἕκαστον
ἐπιβοώμενοι, εἴ τινα πού τις ἴδοι ἢ ἐταίρων ἢ οἰκείων, τῶν τε
ξυσκήνων ἤδη ἀπιόντων ἐκκρεμαννύμενοι καὶ ἐπακολουθοῦντες
ἐς ὅσον δύναιντο, εἴ τῳ δὲ προλίποι ἡ ῥώμη καὶ τὸ σῶμα, οὐκ ἄνευ
ὀλίγων ἐπιθειαςμῶν καὶ οἰμωγῆς ὑπολειπόμενοι, ὥστε δάκρυσιν
πάν τὸ στράτευμα πλησθὲν καὶ ἀπορία τοιαύτη μὴ ῥᾷδίως
ἀφορμᾶσθαι, καίπερ ἐκ πολεμίας τε καὶ μείζω ἢ κατὰ δάκρυα τὰ
μὲν πεπονθότας ἤδη, τὰ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐν ἀφανεῖ δεδιότας μὴ
πάθωσιν.⁶³⁰

In the previous passage, seeing an abundance of ῥώμη encouraged the Athenians, but now seeing and hearing their ῥώμη failing causes despair.⁶³¹ Thucydides shows the powerful sensory impact of these sights and sounds by twice mentioning tears, which appear nowhere else in the History.⁶³² The change in the meaning of ῥώμη between 6.31 and 7.75 is also instructive,

⁶²⁸ Allison (1997b) 502-509.

⁶²⁹ Compare the US Marine Corps' doctrine of "no man left behind," which calls for the recovery of soldiers even if they have perished, since abandoning comrades has a deleterious effect on unit cohesion and morale.

⁶³⁰ T 7.75.4: "These fell to entreating and bewailing until their friends knew not what to do, begging them to take them and loudly calling to each individual comrade or relative whom they could see, hanging upon the necks of their tent-fellows in the act of departure, and following as far as they could, and when their bodily strength failed them, calling again and again upon heaven and shrieking aloud as they were left behind. So that the whole army being filled with tears and distracted after this fashion found it not easy to go, even from an enemy's land, where they had already suffered evils too great for tears and in the unknown future before them feared to suffer more" (tr. Crawley).

⁶³¹ Kallet (2001) 169.

⁶³² Hornblower 3 709-710.

since the word first referred to confidence based on material resources but now means bodily strength.⁶³³ Kallet notes that the surviving Athenians' realization of their position recalls a tragic 'recognition scene' and the fall of Croesus in Herodotus 1.68.⁶³⁴ Thus, only at their wretched departure do the Athenians in Sicily understand that they have squandered everything that made up the expedition's *ῥώμη* except the soldiers' bodies, which are also soon to be lost.

Thucydides develops the theme of misunderstood *ῥώμη* in the speeches and letter of Nicias, who mentions *ῥώμη* only as a possession of the Syracusans or in relation to his own poor health. His inability to see *ῥώμη* as the mental and material strength of his forces mimics his inability to deploy these forces effectively. Furthermore, Nicias' repeated invocations of his personal sickness subtly reflect the dwindling power of the Athenian expedition. In his letter to the Athenian assembly, Nicias refers to his benefactions to the city when he was healthy: ἀξιῶ δ' ὑμῶν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν· καὶ γὰρ ὅτ' ἐρρώμην πολλὰ ἐν ἡγεμονίαις ὑμᾶς εὖ ἐποίησα.⁶³⁵ This type of reference to past service is common in defense oratory,⁶³⁶ but the lack of Athenian *ῥώμη* also fits the overall theme. The shift in emphasis at the beginning of book seven also leads the reader to assess the letter differently from the Athenian assembly, since it is now clearly a mistake to refuse Nicias' request to be relieved of command.⁶³⁷ Nicias uses *ῥώμη* to refer to his

⁶³³ ἡ *ῥώμη* καὶ τὸ σῶμα is hendiadys for 'strength of the body.' The interplay between these two meanings of *ῥώμη* is a major feature of Thucydides' analysis of Athenian morale during the war in Sicily.

⁶³⁴ Kallet (2001) 169.

⁶³⁵ T 7.15.2: "I am worthy of receiving your indulgence, since I did you much good in my commands when I was healthy."

⁶³⁶ Hornblower 3 568.

⁶³⁷ Connor (1984) 188.

physical health again in his final speech. Much like he did in the letter, Nicias contrasts his poor physical state with his good character:

κάγώ τοι οὐδενὸς ὑμῶν οὔτε ῥώμῃ προφέρων (ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε δὴ ὡς
διάκειμαι ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου) οὔτ' εὐτυχία δοκῶν που ὕστερός του
εἶναι κατὰ τε τὸν ἴδιον βίον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα, νῦν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
κινδύνῳ τοῖς φαυλοτάτοις αἰωροῦμαι· καίτοι πολλὰ μὲν ἐς θεοὺς
νόμιμα δεδιήτημαι, πολλὰ δὲ ἐς ἀνθρώπους δίκαια καὶ
ἀνεπίφθονα.⁶³⁸

Unlike the letter, where he used the verbal form, Nicias here uses the noun ῥώμη. This recalls the similar use of ῥώμη two sections earlier at 7.75.4, reinforcing the idea that Athenian power is nearly spent. Athenian ῥώμη is no longer the glorious power, wealth, and confidence of the expedition in 415; instead, it consists of human bodies, many of which are sick and wounded.

And yet Nicias does show in his speech before the battle in the Great Harbor that he understands ῥώμη as more than simply physical strength, when he contrasts Syracusan ῥώμη with Athenian *episteme*: καὶ δείξατε ὅτι καὶ μετ' ἀσθενείας καὶ ξυμφορῶν ἡ ὑμετέρα ἐπιστήμη κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἑτέρας εὐτυχούσης ῥώμης.⁶³⁹ Nicias' invocation of the Syracusans' 'lucky energy' reveals a clear underestimation of the enemy's power, since the narrative has shown that Syracusans' strength is not based on luck.⁶⁴⁰ In fact, his use of the phrase εὐτυχούσης ῥώμης implies that Nicias does not understand military ῥώμη. As has been shown above, this type of ῥώμη refers to confidence based on a rational understanding of one's resources and

⁶³⁸ T 7.77.2: "I myself who am not superior to any of you in strength—indeed you see how I am in my sickness—and who in the gifts of fortune am, I think, whether in private life or otherwise, the equal of any, am now exposed to the same danger as the meanest among you; and yet my life has been one of much devotion towards the gods, and of much justice and without offence towards men" (tr. Crawley).

⁶³⁹ T 7.63.4: "And show that your knowledge is more powerful amidst weakness and misfortune than another's lucky energy."

⁶⁴⁰ Hunter (1973) 110, admitting that chance plays some role in the Athenian reverses, but arguing that the Athenians' errors and lost opportunities are more important.

position. Therefore, it cannot be ‘lucky.’ Nicias is right that the Syracusans hold the edge in *ῥώμη*, but he is wrong about the nature of their *ῥώμη*. As the arguments of the paired speeches make clear, the Syracusans have all the rational reasons for confidence.⁶⁴¹ In fact, the contrasts with the battle of Naupactus show that the Syracusans have successfully neutralized the advantages of Athenian *ἐπιστήμη* by cleverly using topography and technical innovation to invalidate the Athenians’ usual tactics.⁶⁴² Thus, Nicias’ claim that Athenian *ἐπιστήμη* will defeat Syracusan *ῥώμη* rests on misunderstandings of his opponents, the tactical situation, and the nature of *ῥώμη* itself.⁶⁴³

Thucydides shows that Alcibiades, on the other hand, understands *ῥώμη* as military power and confidence, since Thucydides links him with this meaning of the word both implicitly and explicitly. When speaking in favor of the expedition to Sicily, Alcibiades argues that, in spite of Peloponnesian *ῥώμη*, the enemy only has power on land and cannot harm Athens nautically:

καὶ νῦν οὔτε ἀνέλπιστοὶ πω μᾶλλον Πελοποννήσιοι ἐς ἡμᾶς
ἐγένοντο, εἴ τε καὶ πάνυ ἔρρωνται, τὸ μὲν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν
ἐσβάλλειν, κἂν μὴ ἐκπλεύσωμεν, ἱκανοὶ εἰσι, τῷ δὲ ναυτικῷ οὐκ ἂν
δύναιτο βλάπτειν· ὑπόλοιπον γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἀντίπαλον
ναυτικόν.⁶⁴⁴

This statement shows that Alcibiades understands how to project *ῥώμη* effectively and make use of different cities’ particular strengths. Indeed, the annual Peloponnesian invasions did very little actual harm to Athens’

⁶⁴¹ Romilly (1956) 156-159.

⁶⁴² Romilly (1956) 159-161.

⁶⁴³ Compare Kallet (2001) 147-182, which argues that Nicias fails as a leader because he is excessively focused on financial considerations and lacks *γνώμη*. Her thesis complements my analysis of Nicias’ relationship to *ῥώμη* as an indicator of his poor leadership.

⁶⁴⁴ T 6.17.8: “The Peloponnesians had never so little hope against us at present; and let them be ever so sanguine, although they have the power to invade our country even if we stay at home, they can never hurt us with their navy, as we leave one of our own behind us that is a match for them” (modified from Crawley’s translation).

economy.⁶⁴⁵ Later, Thucydides links Alcibiades with *ῥώμη* explicitly, as Alcibiades explains to the Lacedaemonians how to overcome the very deficiencies on which he had told the Athenians to rely. Thucydides twice connects Alcibiades' advice to send help to Syracuse and fortify Decelea with Lacedaemonian *ῥώμη*. After Alcibiades initially defects to Sparta, Thucydides relates how his speech affected Spartan thinking:

Ὁ μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδης τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
διανοούμενοι μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ πρότερον στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας,
μέλλοντες δ' ἔτι καὶ περιορώμενοι, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐπερρώσθησαν
διδάξαντος ταῦτα ἕκαστα αὐτοῦ καὶ νομίσαντες παρὰ τοῦ
σαφέστατος εἰδότος ἀκηκοέναι· ὥστε τῇ ἐπιτειχίσει τῆς Δεκελείας
προσεῖχον ἤδη τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὸ παραυτίκα καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ
πέμπειν τινὰ τιμωρίαν.⁶⁴⁶

The fortification of Decelea, which Alcibiades stridently advocates, does more material harm to Athens than all of the ineffectual Peloponnesian invasions.⁶⁴⁷ Furthermore, the decision to build a permanent fortification in Attica and send Spartan leadership to Syracuse also have important psychological effects, by encouraging Athens' allies to revolt and using Sparta's reputation to strengthen the morale of the Syracusans.⁶⁴⁸ Thucydides' emphasis on Alcibiades' clear knowledge and teaching also shows that the Lacedaemonians' *ῥώμη* is based on a reasoned interpretation of the facts.

⁶⁴⁵ Hanson (2005) 48-59.

⁶⁴⁶ T 6.93.1-2: "Such were the words of Alcibiades. The Lacedaemonians, who had themselves before intended to march against Athens, but were still waiting and looking about them, at once became much more vigorous when they received this particular information from Alcibiades, and considered that they had heard it from the man who best knew the truth of the matter. Accordingly they now turned their attention to the fortifying of Decelea and sending immediate aid to the Sicilians" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

⁶⁴⁷ Hanson (2005) 60.

⁶⁴⁸ Forde (1989) 104-105. See below for more on Thucydides' use of *ῥώμη* to describe Syracusan morale.

And yet the Lacedaemonians, probably because of religious scruples, delay fortifying Decelea even as they send help to Sicily immediately.⁶⁴⁹ When they finally prepare to invade and hold Decelea, at the insistence of their allies and Alcibiades, Thucydides explains that the *ῥώμη* they possess is based on their strategic position and their feeling of righteousness:

Παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβολὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὥσπερ τε προυδέδοκτο αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ Κορινθίων ἐναγόντων, ἐπειδὴ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βοήθειαν ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν, ὅπως δὴ ἐσβολῆς γενομένης διακωλυθῇ. καὶ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης προσκείμενος ἐδίδασκε τὴν Δεκέλειαν τειχίζειν καὶ μὴ ἀνιέναι τὸν πόλεμον. μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐγεγέννητό τις ῥώμη, διότι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐνόμιζον διπλοῦν τὸν πόλεμον ἔχοντας, πρὸς τε σφᾶς καὶ Σικελιώτας, εὐκαθαιρετωτέρους ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τὰς σπονδὰς προτέρους λελυκέναι ἡγοῦντο αὐτούς.⁶⁵⁰

The success of the war in Sicily, based especially on the psychological effects of Gylippus' arrival, also causes the Corinthians to gain *ῥώμη*.⁶⁵¹ Thus, the loss of Alcibiades represents a transfer of *ῥώμη* from Athens to the Peloponnesians, since he is the Athenian leader who best knows how to deploy power rationally to maximize its potential. Plus, his defection represents a transfer of *ῥώμη* from Athens through Sparta to Syracuse, since

⁶⁴⁹ Hornblower 3 518, see Herodotus 9.73 concerning the religious reasons for the Spartans not fortifying Decelea during the Archidamian War.

⁶⁵⁰ T 7.18.1-2: "In the meantime the Lacedaemonians prepared for their invasion of Attica, in accordance with their own previous resolve, and at the instigation of the Syracusans and Corinthians, who wished for an invasion to arrest the reinforcements which they heard that Athens was about to send to Sicily. Alcibiades also urgently advised the fortification of Decelea, and a vigorous prosecution of the war. But the Lacedaemonians derived most strength from the belief that Athens, with two wars on her hands, against themselves and against the Siceliots, would be more easy to subdue, and from the conviction that she had been the first to infringe the truce" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

⁶⁵¹ T 7.17.3: οἱ γὰρ Κορίνθιοι, ὡς αὐτοῖς οἱ πρέσβεις ἦκον καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ βελτίω ἡγγελλον, νομίσαντες οὐκ ἄκαιρον καὶ τὴν προτέραν πέμψιν τῶν νεῶν ποιήσασθαι, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐπέρρωντο, "the Corinthians, believing that their prior sending of ships was quite timely, since ambassadors had come to them and were recounting that things were better in Sicily, were encouraged much more."

one of the pieces of advice he gives is to send a commander to Syracuse, whom Thucydides strongly associates with Syracusan *ῥώμη*.⁶⁵² The confidence and success of the Syracusans brings *ῥώμη* to the Lacedaemonians and the Corinthians in turn, so that Alcibiades is ultimately implicated in the growing *ῥώμη* of all three of the Athenians' main adversaries.

The only other Athenian leader who speaks of *ῥώμη* in books six and seven is Euphemus. He uses *ῥώμη* to mean military resources and confidence when he claims that the *ῥώμη* of allies is beneficial to the interests of Athens.⁶⁵³ And yet Euphemus has no military role in the expedition, serving only as a mouthpiece for Athenian cynicism.⁶⁵⁴ In fact, his argument that Athens will not mistreat her allies is the lie at the heart of this deceptive speech.⁶⁵⁵ Thus, Thucydides carefully deploys the different senses of *ῥώμη* and related words to reinforce the theme of failing Athenian leadership.⁶⁵⁶ Alcibiades, and to a lesser extent Euphemus, understand the role of *ῥώμη* in warfare, but neither one influences the military leadership of the expedition in book seven. Nicias, who repeatedly mentions his own lack of physical *ῥώμη*, does not seem to conceive of *ῥώμη* as confidence and military resources and squanders those resources, until the only *ῥώμη* the Athenians possess is that of their own bodies, which are also lost in the end.

⁶⁵² See below.

⁶⁵³ T 6.85.1: καὶ ἡμᾶς τοῦτο ὠφελεῖ ἐνθάδε, οὐκ ἦν τοὺς φίλους κακώσωμεν, ἀλλ' ἦν οἱ ἐχθροὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν φίλων ῥώμην ἀδύνατοι ᾤσιν. "And we are benefitted here, not if we treat out allies unjustly, but if our enemies are impotent because of the strength of our allies."

⁶⁵⁴ Hornblower 3 493 compares the contrast between the fully described Hermocrates and the otherwise unknown Euphemus to Cleon and Diodotus.

⁶⁵⁵ Rawlings (1981) 121-122.

⁶⁵⁶ Demosthenes, whom Thucydides associates with *ῥώμη* but who does not use the word in a speech in books six and seven, will be discussed below.

Unlike Athenian *ῥώμη*, which Thucydides uses for implicit characterization of different leaders and more general evaluations of Athenian morale, Syracusan *ῥώμη* is strongly associated with the theme of growing confidence and military power. Thucydides uses this type of *ῥώμη*, often expressed by forms of *ἐπιρῳννυμι*, to highlight the strengthening of Syracusan morale and the weakening of Athenian morale as the tide turns in the war. Thucydides describes major psychological turning points in terms of one side or the other gaining *ῥώμη*, beginning with the arrival of Gylippus and ending with the defeat of Demosthenes' attack on Epipolae. More than half of the fifteen uses of words from the *ῥώμη-ῥῳννυμι* family in books six and seven are Thucydides' own evaluations of morale in Sicily or the Peloponnese.⁶⁵⁷ Thus, tracking Thucydides' use of these terms allows one to see clearly how the mental states of the two sides both shape and are shaped by events. Earlier in this section, I discussed Thucydides' use of *ῥώμη* to describe the highest and lowest points in Athenian power and characterize different leaders. When joined with the passages about to be discussed, these uses of *ῥώμη* and related words reveal Thucydides' careful analysis of the trajectory of morale on both sides. Thucydides' implicit characterization of different Athenian leaders by the way they rhetorically deploy *ῥώμη* sets up the failure of Athenian *ῥώμη* and the destruction of the expedition. Even before Thucydides explicitly recounts the step by step shift of *ῥώμη* from Athens to Syracuse, he cues the reader to expect it.⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵⁷ T 6.93.1, 7.2.1, 7.7.4, 7.17.3, 7.18.2, 7.42.2, 7.46.1, 7.47.1. Hornblower 3 383 notes the regular use of *ῥώμη-ῥῳννυμι* to refer to "high morale, confidence" in book seven, but he does not explore its thematic significance.

⁶⁵⁸ Compare Romilly (1956) 160-161, analyzing how the complex of speeches and narrative prefigure the results of the battle in the Great Harbor.

The first time Thucydides mentions the Syracusans gaining *ρόμη* is when they hear of the imminent arrival of Gylippus. He arrives at the nadir of Syracusan spirits and immediately begins to turn them around mentally.⁶⁵⁹ The abrupt rebound in Syracusan morale confirms the efficacy of Alcibiades' advice to the Lacedaemonians,⁶⁶⁰ who transfer the confidence that Alcibiades brought them to the Syracusans via Gylippus. Gongylus, a Corinthian, announces to the Syracusans that Gylippus is coming from Sparta, and they are encouraged just to hear it: καὶ οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι ἐπερρώσθησάν τε καὶ τῷ Γυλίππῳ εὐθύς πανστρατιᾷ ὥς ἀπαντησόμενοι ἐξῆλθον.⁶⁶¹ Although the Syracusan and allied forces suffer defeat in their initial engagement under Gylippus, their subsequent victory causes the Syracusans to gain even more confidence: οἳ τε Συρακόσιοι ναυτικὸν ἐπλήρουν καὶ ἀνεπειρῶντο ὥς καὶ τούτῳ ἐπιχειρήσοντες, καὶ ἐς τᾶλλα πολὺ ἐπέρρωντο.⁶⁶² These two passages frame the decisive moment in the siege, when it becomes clear that the Athenian circumvallation cannot succeed.⁶⁶³ The tenses of the verb also suggest the different impact of the two events on Syracusan morale. The ingressive aorist at 7.2.1 refers to the beginning of their improved morale; and the pluperfect, representing the imperfect,⁶⁶⁴ at 7.7.4 shows that Syracusan morale has become and continues to be quite good. Preventing the Athenians from completing their siege works is the first step toward superiority on land,

⁶⁵⁹ Hornblower 3 544 questions whether the arrival of Gylippus really pulled the Syracusans back from considering ending the war, but he concludes the possible exaggeration enables Thucydides to present this moment as a turning point.

⁶⁶⁰ T 6.93.1.

⁶⁶¹ T 7.2.1: "the Syracusans gained confidence and immediately went out in full force to meet Gylippus."

⁶⁶² T 7.7.4: "the Syracusans proceeded to man a fleet and to exercise, meaning to try their fortune in this way also, and generally became exceedingly confident" (tr. Crawley).

⁶⁶³ Hornblower 3 552.

⁶⁶⁴ LSJ, s.v. ἐπιρρώννυμι.

and accordingly it causes the Syracusans to gain *ῥώμη* when they succeed. The abrupt reversal of Syracusan morale after the arrival of Gylippus is shocking, since book six has conditioned the reader to expect more Athenian success and Syracusan failure.⁶⁶⁵ Yet Thucydides' use of *ἐπιρρώννυμι* to describe the Syracusans' psychological change implies more than just a switch in the two sides' morale, since the possession of *ῥώμη* usually implies concrete material and strategic advantages as well as confidence. Thus, *ῥώμη* is not an exact equivalent for 'morale,' since *ῥώμη* can have physical or material as well as psychological aspects. The arrival of Gylippus starts to instill confidence in the Syracusans (*ἐπερρώσθησάν*), but only after stopping the siege do they have good reasons to be really confident (*πολὺ ἐπέρρωντο*) in their strategic position and resources for the war.

The general trend of Syracuse's power growing and Athens' waning continues until Demosthenes reaches Sicily with reinforcements equal to the original expedition. This "marks a kind of second beginning,"⁶⁶⁶ restoring Athenian *ῥώμη* and instantly reversing the progress the Syracusans have made over the course of book seven.⁶⁶⁷ Thucydides gives the reasons for these changes in morale:

καὶ τοῖς μὲν Συρακοσίοις καὶ ξυμμάχοις κατάπληξιν ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα οὐκ ὀλίγη ἐγένετο, εἰ πέρας μηδὲν ἔσται σφίσι τοῦ ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ κινδύνου, ὁρῶντες οὔτε διὰ τὴν Δεκέλειαν τειχιζομένην οὔδεν ἦσσαν στρατὸν ἴσον καὶ παραπλήσιον τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπεληλυθότα τὴν τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν πανταχόσε πολλὴν

⁶⁶⁵ Connor (1984) 185-188, see especially 186 n 3, which relates Thucydides' account of the victory trophies erected by both sides to their morale.

⁶⁶⁶ Kallet (2001) 154.

⁶⁶⁷ Hornblower 3 583-584 discusses *κατάπληξις*, a stronger variant of *ἐκπληξις*, in Thucydides books seven and eight.

φαινομένην· τῷ δὲ προτέρῳ στρατεύματι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὥς ἐκ
κακῶν ῥώμη τις ἐγεγένητο.⁶⁶⁸

The reinforcements represent a temporary reinfusion of ῥώμη on the Athenian side, since they have all the material strength of the initial expedition, but the Athenians' ultimate failure shows that ῥώμη is more than just men and ships. The phrase ὥς ἐκ κακῶν is telling, since the Athenians' encouragement is based on the mistaken belief that their misfortunes are over. Athenian δύναμις appears great to the Syracusans, just as Athens' ῥώμη appears great at 6.31, but the Athenian generals lack the intelligence to exert this power successfully.⁶⁶⁹ Thus, the 'new beginning' brought by Demosthenes becomes a false turning point.

Indeed, Demosthenes' overbold stratagem squanders Athenian ῥώμη, and Syracusan morale is restored almost as quickly as it broke down. The unexpected good fortune of their victory on Epipolae totally restores the Syracusans' confidence:

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι ὥς ἐπὶ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ εὐπραγία
πάλιν αὖ ἀναρρωσθέντες, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἐς μὲν Ἀκράγαντα
στασιάζοντα πέντε καὶ δέκα ναυσὶ Σικανὸν ἀπέστειλαν, ὅπως
ὑπαγάγοιτο τὴν πόλιν, εἰ δύναιτο· Γύλιππος δὲ κατὰ γῆν ἐς τὴν
ἄλλην Σικελίαν ὥχετο αὐθις, ἄξων στρατιὰν ἔτι, ὥς ἐν ἐλπίδι ὦν
καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἰρήσειν βίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐν ταῖς
'Επιπολαῖς οὕτω ξυνέβη.⁶⁷⁰

⁶⁶⁸ T 7.42.2: "The Syracusans and their allies were for the moment not a little dismayed at the idea that there was to be no term or ending to their dangers, seeing, in spite of the fortification of Decelea, a new army arrive nearly equal to the former, and the power of Athens proving so great in every quarter. On the other hand, the first Athenian armament regained a certain confidence in the midst of its misfortunes" (tr. Crawley).

⁶⁶⁹ Kallet (2001) 153-154.

⁶⁷⁰ T 7.46.1: "After this the Syracusans, recovering their old confidence at such an unexpected stroke of good fortune, despatched Sicanus with fifteen ships to Agrigentum where there was a revolution, to induce if possible the city to join them; while Gylippus again went by land into the rest of Sicily to bring up reinforcements, being now in hope of taking the Athenian lines by storm, after the result of the affair on Epipolae" (tr. Crawley).

The Syracusans' attribution of the victory to good fortune shows how far their spirits had fallen.⁶⁷¹ And yet the quick return of Syracusan confidence shows that Demosthenes and the reinforcements had no lasting effect on morale.⁶⁷² A less daring attack probably would have been successful, since the Syracusans are even more despondent at the sight of the reinforcements than when the Athenians originally attacked.⁶⁷³ Instead, the brief advantage in *ῥώμη* enjoyed by the Athenians has been completely reversed, as the pleonasm of *πάλιν, αὖ, ἀνα-,* and *ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον* vigorously stress.⁶⁷⁴ Furthermore, Thucydides' use of the compound *ἀναρώννυμι*, which occurs nowhere else in his work, shows that the Syracusans' moral advantage is decisive.⁶⁷⁵

Indeed, the newly reinforced Athenian expedition no longer has *ῥώμη* at all, as Thucydides makes explicit in the next chapter:

Οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐβουλεύοντο πρὸς τε τὴν γεγεννημένην ξυμφορὰν καὶ πρὸς τὴν παρούσαν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατὰ πάντα ἀρρωστίαν.⁶⁷⁶

The word *ἀρρωστίαν*, 'loss of morale,' is the inverse of the Syracusans *ἀναρρωσθέντες* in the previous chapter.⁶⁷⁷ Although Thucydides implies that Athenian resources are still sufficient for victory in the speech of Nicias during this war council,⁶⁷⁸ the development of the *ῥώμη* theme shows that the Athenians have already lost the campaign mentally. Since the Athenian

⁶⁷¹ Kallet (2001) 156.

⁶⁷² Romilly (1956) 154-155 argues that Demosthenes' arrival does improve Athenian spirits but, on the contrary, that the loss at Epipolae contributes to the exchange in Athenian and Syracusan morale.

⁶⁷³ Kallet (2001) 155-156.

⁶⁷⁴ Hornblower 3 630.

⁶⁷⁵ Romilly (1956) 37.

⁶⁷⁶ T 7.47.1: "Meanwhile, the Athenian generals deliberated on the disaster which had happened and the lack of strength of the army in all respects."

⁶⁷⁷ Hornblower 3 632.

⁶⁷⁸ Kallet (2001) 158, especially n 27.

soldiery suffer from κατὰ πάντα ἄρρωστίαν, they do not have the confidence to employ their resources successfully. This lack of strength despite their material power suggests why the Athenians ultimately face defeat. The final confirmation of Athenian failure in Sicily is the lack of ῥώμη, discussed above, as the Athenians abandon their camp and Nicias gives his last speech.

5.3 'Ρώμη in Extant Sixth and Fifth Century Literature

The noun ῥώμη and the related verb ἔρρωμαι are post-Homeric, with the noun occurring for the first time in the poetry of Xenophanes and an adverbial form of the participle occurring in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*. The words initially refer strictly to physical, bodily strength, and Sophocles is the first who uses both in more metaphorical senses. In Xenophanes 2, the inferiority of athletes' ῥώμη to the thinker's wisdom is a major theme. This mind/body antithesis is one of the more common contexts for ῥώμη, although ῥώμη also begins to appear frequently in the old/young antithesis in the second half of the fifth century. In fact, the usages of Xenophanes, Simonides, and Aeschylus all refer explicitly to physical strength. Xenophanes contrasts the ῥώμη of athletes and animals with his own wisdom three times:

ῥώμης γὰρ ἀμείνων
 ἀνδρῶν ἢ δ' ἵππων ἡμετέρῃ σοφίῃ.
 ἀλλ' εἰκῇ μάλα τοῦτο νομίζεται, οὐδὲ δίκαιον
 προκρίνειν ῥώμην τῆς ἀγαθῆς σοφίης.
 οὔτε γὰρ εἰ πύκτης ἀγαθὸς λαοῖσι μετεῖη
 οὔτ' εἰ πενταθλεῖν οὔτε παλαισμοσύνην,
 οὐδὲ μὲν εἰ ταχυτῆτι ποδῶν, τόπερ ἐστὶ πρότιμον
 ῥώμης ὅσσ' ἀνδρῶν ἔργ' ἐν ἀγῶνι πέλει,
 τοῦνεκεν ἂν δὴ μᾶλλον ἐν εὐνομίῃ πόλις εἴη.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁹ Xenophanes 2.13-21 (Diels-Kranz): "My skill is better than the strength of men and horses. But this thing is especially esteemed for no reason, and it is not right to prefer strength to good knowledge. Not if a good boxer, nor if someone good at the pentathlon or wrestling, and not

By Xenophanes' argument *sophia* is a purely mental quality but physical *ῥώμη* is common to men and beasts. This is part of his rhetoric privileging his own contribution to the *polis*, but the antithesis between *ῥώμη* as a physical quality and mental attributes recurs in Simonides 6.50. The epigram commemorates the Greek victory over the Persians:

Τόνδε ποθ' Ἑλληνες ῥώμη χερὸς ἔργῳ Ἄρης,
εὐτόλμῳ ψυχῆς λήματι πειθόμενοι,
Πέρσας ἐξελάσαντες, ἐλεύθερον Ἑλλάδι κόσμον
ἰδρύσαντο Διὸς βωμὸν Ἐλευθερίου.⁶⁸⁰

Here again *ῥώμη* is purely physical, since it is modified by 'hand' and followed by a list of mental terms.⁶⁸¹

In the *Persians*, Aeschylus uses a similar expression when Xerxes cries out at the misfortune: λέλυται γὰρ ἔμοι γυίων ῥώμη / τήνδ' ἡλικίαν ἐσιδόντ' ἄστῶν.⁶⁸² The theme of failing *ῥώμη* in times of emotional distress recurs in Sophocles and becomes more common in Euripides. An adverbial form of the participle (ἐρρωμένως), meaning 'strongly, with force,' is used twice by Kratos urging on Hephaestus as he transfixes Prometheus at the beginning of *Prometheus Bound*.⁶⁸³ Kratos refers elsewhere to binding securely,⁶⁸⁴ so the application of the participle only to hammering and piercing shows that physical force is meant in this context, as well.

even if someone with fleetness of foot, which is preferred to all the feats of strength in competition, is among the people, would the city for that reason be in better order."

⁶⁸⁰ Simonides *Epigrams* 6.50: "The Hellenes erected this altar in accordance with the strength of their hands, the deed of Ares, the daring of their hearts, and their resolution, after they drove out the Persians, as a monument to the freedom of Hellas, for Zeus Eleutherius."

⁶⁸¹ For other instances of *ῥώμη* and *χεῖρ*, see Sophocles *OT* 122-123, Antiphon 4.3.3; for another juxtaposition of *ῥώμη* and *λήμα*, see Herodotus 9.62.

⁶⁸² Aeschylus *Persians* 913-914: "the strength of my limbs left me when I looked at the age of the townspeople here."

⁶⁸³ Aeschylus *Prometheus Bound* 65, 76.

⁶⁸⁴ Aeschylus *Prometheus Bound* 61: ἀσφαλῶς.

Sophocles, who uses a finite form of the verb for the first time in extant literature, explores more metaphorical meanings for *ῥώμη*. When describing the murder of Laius, Creon says *ληστὰς ἔφασκε συντυχόντας οὐ μιᾷ / ῥώμῃ κτανεῖν νιν, ἀλλὰ σὺν πλήθει χερῶν*.⁶⁸⁵ This seems to be a play on phrases like *ῥώμη χερὸς* in Simonides, and here *ῥώμη* refers to the force of a single person. Later in the play, a messenger says that Oedipus cannot yet come out since *ῥώμης γε μέντοι καὶ προηγητοῦ τινος / δεῖται*.⁶⁸⁶ Here, the messenger seems to be referring to Oedipus' physical weakness because of his emotional state, like Aeschylus in the *Persians* and Euripides in multiple plays. In *Trachiniae*, the old man refers to his inability to help Hyllus: *τοῦργον τόδε μεῖζον ἀνήκει / ἢ κατ' ἐμὴν ῥώμαν*.⁶⁸⁷ Although the context does not show conclusively that he refers to bodily strength, this theme of diminishing *ῥώμη* in old age recurs in Antiphon and Euripides. The first usage that certainly refers to mental rather than physical strength is the impersonal verb in *Oedipus at Colonus*: *κείνοις δ' ἴσως κεί δειν' ἐπερρώσθη λέγειν / τῆς σῆς ἀγωγῆς*.⁶⁸⁸ The use of the verb plus an infinitive to mean "have the strength or confidence to do" reappears in Thucydides but not elsewhere in lyric or tragedy.

Euripides uses *ῥώμη* in some of the same contexts as earlier authors and expands the meaning even further, mentioning the feeble *ῥώμη* of old age like Sophocles and Antiphon, a lack of *ῥώμη* as a reaction to powerful

⁶⁸⁵ Sophocles *Oedipus Tyrannus* 122-123: "he said that bandits happened upon him and killed him not with one [man's] power but with a number of hands."

⁶⁸⁶ Sophocles *Oedipus Tyrannus* 1292-1293: "he is, however, in need of strength and someone as guide."

⁶⁸⁷ Sophocles *Trachiniae* 1018-1019: "this deed has become greater than my strength."

⁶⁸⁸ Sophocles *Oedipus Coloneus* 661-662: "if, perhaps, the confidence comes to them to say terrible things about your removal."

emotions like Sophocles and Aeschylus, the *ῥώμη* of things like the wind or a spear, and even the *ῥώμη* of Agamemnon as king. In his extant plays, Euripides refers to a lack of *ῥώμη* as a symptom of aging four times, three times using the noun and once using the verb. In *Andromache*, Peleus urges his slave to lead more quickly and says ἀνηβητηρίαν / ῥώμην με καὶ νῦν λαμβάνειν, εἴπερ ποτέ.⁶⁸⁹ The theme appears twice in *Heraclidae*. When the servant of Hyllus asks the dejected Iolaus to rouse himself, Iolaus replies γέροντές ἐσμεν κούδαμῶς ἐρρώμεθα.⁶⁹⁰ Here the weakness claimed by the old man is in reality caused by his emotional state, but the servant refers to it again a little later. When Iolaus perks up and says he intends to join in the battle, the servant reminds him that οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ τᾶν, ἣ ποτ' ἦν ῥώμη σέθεν.⁶⁹¹ Similarly, Amphitryon laments that he no longer has the strength to settle disputes with the spear in *Hercules*: ῥώμη γὰρ ἐκλέλοιπεν ἦν πρὶν εἶχομεν, / γήρᾳ δὲ τρομερὰ γυῖα κάμαυρον σθένος.⁶⁹²

Like the other great tragedians, Euripides refers to failing *ῥώμη* in times of high emotional tension. Near the end of the *Suppliant Women*, the chorus asks servants to take their sons' ashes because of weakness from the mourning: οὐ γὰρ ἔνεστιν / ῥώμη παίδων ὑπὸ πένθους.⁶⁹³ Similarly, Electra at the beginning of *Orestes* worries whether or not Menelaus will come to rescue her and Orestes: ὥς τά γ' ἄλλ' ἐπ' ἀσθενοῦς / ῥώμης ὀχούμεθ'.⁶⁹⁴ Finally, when Alcmene sees that a messenger has come in *Heraclidae*, she

⁶⁸⁹ Euripides *Andromache* 552-553: "now, if ever, is the time to take up my youthful strength."

⁶⁹⁰ Euripides *Heraclidae* 636: "I am an old man and in no way have the strength."

⁶⁹¹ Euripides *Heraclidae* 688: "the strength which once was yours is no more, my friend."

⁶⁹² Euripides *Hercules* 230-231: "the power which I used to have has gone, my limbs tremble with age, and my strength is withered."

⁶⁹³ Euripides *Suppliants* 1116-1117: "our strength is gone because of mourning the children."

⁶⁹⁴ Euripides *Orestes* 68-69: "otherwise, we ride at anchor depending on weak strength."

also becomes weak: ἀσθενὴς μὲν ἢ γ' ἐμὴ / ῥώμη.⁶⁹⁵ In this case, ῥώμη is almost synonymous with 'body' by metonymy. All three tragedians use ῥώμη to refer to bodily strength, and discussing the effects of powerful emotions on this strength allows them to enhance the emotional tension of their drama.

Similar to the phrase ἀσθενὴς ῥώμη, a fragment of Euripides preserves the phrase ῥώμη ἀμαθῆς: ῥώμη δὲ τ' ἀμαθῆς πολλάκις τίκτει βλάβην.⁶⁹⁶ The lack of context makes analysis of this occurrence difficult,⁶⁹⁷ but the relationship between knowledge and ῥώμη becomes an important issue in Thucydides. Euripides, on the other hand, twice uses ῥώμη to refer to the force of inanimate objects. In *Hercules*, he uses ῥώμη to mean the force of wind: καὶ πνεύματ' ἀνέμων οὐκ ἀεὶ ῥώμην ἔχει.⁶⁹⁸ Similarly, in the

Suppliant Women, Aethra refers to the force of the spear:

ὅς μ' ἐξοτρύνει παῖδ' ἐμὸν πείσαι λιταῖς
νεκρῶν κομιστὴν ἢ λόγοισιν ἢ δορὸς
ῥώμη γενέσθαι καὶ τάφου μεταίτιον.⁶⁹⁹

Although ῥώμη here properly refers to the force of the inanimate spear, Herodotus and Thucydides often connect ῥώμη with battle.

Euripides himself associates ῥώμη with battle or military power on two further occasions. In *Rhesus*, Athena calls to Odysseus and Diomedes to hold back and sheath their swords: ὑμᾶς δ' αὐτῷ τοὺς ἄγαν ἐρρωμένους, / Λαερτίου παῖ, θηκτὰ κοιμίσαι ξίφη.⁷⁰⁰ This is the first time in poetry that the verb is used absolutely to mean "be confident," a sense that is common in

⁶⁹⁵ Euripides *Heraclidae* 648-649: "my body is weak."

⁶⁹⁶ Euripides *Fragmenta* 732 (Nauck): "ignorant strength often begets harm."

⁶⁹⁷ It could, for instance, refer to a man of great physical strength but little intelligence or the mistakes of an inexperienced youth.

⁶⁹⁸ Euripides *Hercules* 102: "the blowing of the winds does not always have force."

⁶⁹⁹ Euripides *Suppliants* 24-26: "[Adrastus], who urges me to persuade my son by entreaty to retrieve the bodies, either with words or by force of arms, and help in the burial."

⁷⁰⁰ Euripides *Rhesus* 668-669: "I call on you, men too confident, to calm your sharpened blades, Laertes' son."

Thucydides for finite forms of the verb and the aorist participle. Another interesting metaphorical use occurs in *Orestes*, when Orestes refers to his father's royal power as *ρόμη*: Ἀγαμέμνονός τοι παῖς πέφυχ', ὃς Ἑλλάδος / ἦρξ' ἀξιοθείς, οὐ τύραννος, ἀλλ' ὅμως / *ρόμην* θεοῦ τιν' ἔσχε.⁷⁰¹ Orestes here likens the supreme imperial power over Greece to the power of a god, and the use of *tyrannos* implies this *ρόμη* has a political dimension. And yet the mention of ruling Hellas gives *ρόμη* a military connotation as well, since his empire ultimately depended on military strength.⁷⁰²

Before Thucydides, the vocabulary of *ρόμη* appears in the prose writers Antiphon and Herodotus. In *Tetralogy* 3, one of Antiphon's arguments is that the older defendant lacks the *ρόμη* to have started the fight. This antithesis of young *ρόμη* and old infirmity appears in Sophocles' *Trachiniae* and is more common in Euripides. The rhetorical exercise envisions an older man defending himself for killing a younger man in a street fight, so the hypothetical defendant argues that he would not have started the fight by referring to a young man's greater strength and inexperience with drinking: τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἢ τε μεγαλοφροσύνη τοῦ γένους ἢ τε ἀκμή τῆς *ρόμης* ἢ τε ἀπειρία τῆς μέθης ἐπαίρει τῷ θυμῷ χαρίζεσθαι.⁷⁰³ He continues with the theme of *ρόμη* peaking in youth a little later: ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀκμαζούσῃ τῇ *ρόμῃ* τῶν χειρῶν χρώμενος ἀπέκτεινεν.⁷⁰⁴ Here again *ρόμη* is connected with the hands, showing that, in Antiphon's extant works at least, the word is closely connected with the bodily strength of youth. The recurrence of this

⁷⁰¹ Euripides *Orestes* 1167-1169: "I was born a son of Agamemnon, who was deemed worthy and ruled Hellas; he was not a tyrant, but he had something of the power of a god."

⁷⁰² Compare Thucydides' account of Agamemnon's *dunamis* (1.9).

⁷⁰³ Antiphon 4.3.2: "the arrogance of their age, the peak of their power, and their inexperience with drink drives them to indulge their spirit."

⁷⁰⁴ Antiphon 4.3.3: "the man enjoying his hand's peaking strength killed him."

theme in Antiphon, Sophocles, and Euripides shows that by the later 5th century the Greeks, or at least the Athenians, commonly associated *ῥώμη* with youth.⁷⁰⁵ In fact, Antiphon's argument is predicated on the hypothetical jury's belief that *ῥώμη* reaches its *ἀκμή* in youth.

Like Xenophanes, Herodotus typically uses *ῥώμη* to mean physical strength, sometimes even explicitly contrasting it with mental qualities. Although Herodotus does not criticize *ῥώμη* like his Ionian predecessor, he does not consider it a decisive factor in military contexts like Thucydides does. Herodotus associates *ῥώμη* with youth but does not show a concern for its failure in old age like the tragedians. The *ῥώμη* of the two youths is the theme of Solon's Cleobis and Biton anecdote. Solon introduces the story as *ῥώμη σώματος τοιήδε*, and after the boys pull their mother to town, Ἀργεῖοι μὲν γὰρ περιστάντες ἐμακάριζον τῶν νεηνιέων τὴν ῥώμην.⁷⁰⁶ Their mother then prays for them to receive the greatest gift from Hera, so the boys go to sleep and never awaken. Here again *ῥώμη* is strictly physical and a feature of their age, and the Argives' response to the boys' death immortalizes their youthful strength. When Croesus sends the exiled Phrygian Adrastus to escort his son on a hunt, the king refers to the youth's lineage and strength: πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ σέ τοι χρεόν ἐστι ἰέναι ἔνθα ἀπολαμπρυνέαι τοῖσι ἔργοισι· πατρώϊόν τε γάρ τοί ἐστι καὶ προσέτι ῥώμη ὑπάρχει.⁷⁰⁷ Unfortunately for Croesus, the strength he praises inadvertently causes the death of his son.

⁷⁰⁵ Compare T 2.9, where *ῥώμη* for the war is associated with youth not because of young men's strength but because of their inexperience.

⁷⁰⁶ Herodotus 1.31.2: "the following [feat of] bodily strength," 1.31.3: "the Argive men stood around congratulating the youths for their strength."

⁷⁰⁷ Herodotus 1.41.3: "In addition, you also should go where you can win renown with your deed; it suits your lineage, and you have strength besides."

Herodotus twice pairs *ῥώμη* with a mental quality, showing explicitly that he considers *ῥώμη* to be one half of the mind/body antithesis. After he recounts the restoration of some exiles by Telines using holy artifacts rather than force, Herodotus expresses amazement that a man reputed to be effeminate and cowardly could accomplish such a deed:

τὰ τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἔργα οὐ πρὸς [τοῦ] ἅπαντος ἀνδρὸς νενόμικα
γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ψυχῆς τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ ῥώμης ἀνδρηίης· ὁ δὲ
λέγεται πρὸς τῆς Σικελίης τῶν οἰκητόρων τὰ ὑπεναντία τούτων
πεφυκέναι θηλυδρίας τε καὶ μαλακώτερος ἀνὴρ.⁷⁰⁸

In this sentence, *ψυχή* describes the hypothetical hero's mental goodness and *ῥώμη* describes his physical attributes. Although in Thucydides a phrase like *ῥώμη ἀνδρεῖα* would probably mean something like "courageous confidence," Herodotus contrasts it with *θηλυδρίας* and so means something more like "masculine physique." Herodotus' essential explanation of the Persians' defeat also addresses the *ῥώμη* of both sides in the war, but he concludes that possessing this physical quality did not help the Persians against the Greeks. In Herodotus' view, the Persians did not lack spirit or strength but lost because of their deficiency in equipment and intelligence: *λήματι μὲν νυν καὶ ῥώμη οὐκ ἥσσονες ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ἀνοπλοὶ δὲ ἐόντες καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐναντίοις σοφίην.*⁷⁰⁹ The essential contrast is of valor and bodily strength, in which the Persians matched the Greeks, with arms and knowledge, in which the Persians were inferior. Thus, Herodotus generously attributes physical strength and courage

⁷⁰⁸ Herodotus 7.153.4: "I have always thought that such actions were not the part of every man, but of a good spirit and manly strength; but it is said by the inhabitants of Sicily that he was the opposite of these things, a rather cowardly and effeminate man."

⁷⁰⁹ Herodotus 9.62.3: "the Persians were not inferior in valor or strength, but being without hoplite regalia and in addition lacking knowledge, they were also not equal to their opponents in skill."

to the Persians, but these are not decisive factors in his eyes, since tactics and equipment made the difference in this battle.⁷¹⁰ For Thucydides, *ῥώμη* typically brings or results from victory, but *ῥώμη* does not have a causal relationship with victory in Herodotus.

Herodotus also uses the verb *ἔρρωμαι* in connection with battle but applies it to things like the wing of an army or the battle itself. He does not use the verb to describe the physical or mental strength of individuals or groups of men. At Marathon, Herodotus calls the wings of the Athenian army strong in numbers:

τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξισούμενον τῷ Μηδικῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μέσον ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τάξεις ὀλίγας, καὶ ταύτῃ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τὸ στρατόπεδον, τὸ δὲ κέρασ ἐκάτερον ἔρρωτο πλήθει.⁷¹¹

In this passage, Herodotus describes the thickness and thinness of the battle line in terms of strength and weakness. The reasoning for this arrangement was probably topographical, since the ground on the wings may have been more level and open.⁷¹² Herodotus uses an irregular comparative form of the participle to describe the Greeks' battle for the Persian camp. The Persians flee to their fortified camp, and the Lacedaemonians pursue: *προσελθόντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεστήκεε σφι τειχομαχίῃ ἔρρωμενεστέρα*.⁷¹³ The comparative participle is a bit awkward in this sentence, but it probably means something like "stronger than the Lacedaemonians could deal with."⁷¹⁴ Thus, it refers to the Lacedaemonians' recurring problems with siege craft,

⁷¹⁰ Macan (1908) s.v. 9.62.

⁷¹¹ Herodotus 6.111.3: "the [Athenian] army matched the Persian army in length, but it was in few ranks there in the middle, and the army was weakest here, but each wing was strong in numbers."

⁷¹² How and Wells (1928) s.v. 6.111.

⁷¹³ Herodotus 9.70.1: "when the Lacedaemonians approached, a battle for the walls more powerful [than they could handle] ensued."

⁷¹⁴ Macan (1908) s.v. 9.70.

since they cannot take the walls until the Athenians arrive to help.⁷¹⁵ In any case, Herodotus applies the word to the battle itself rather than the combatants, a usage that is unparalleled in Thucydides.

Two additional appearances of the noun ῥώμη are comparable to Thucydides' use of ῥώμη to mean physical and mental power, although they do not refer conclusively to more than physical strength. In the catalogue of Persian contingents, Herodotus says that the Medes were not fewer than the Persians in number but were inferior in strength: οὔτοι δὲ πλῆθος μὲν οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἦσαν τῶν Περσέων, ῥώμη δὲ ἥσσονες.⁷¹⁶ Thus, the ῥώμη of the Persians to which Herodotus returns when explaining the outcome of the war is first introduced here. Herodotus also associates ῥώμη with the Spartans at Thermopylae. Although the Persians have discovered a mountain track that will enable them to attack the Spartans from behind, the Spartans continue fighting:

ἄτε γὰρ ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν μέλλοντά σφι ἔσεσθαι θάνατον ἐκ τῶν περιόντων τὸ ὄρος, ἀπεδείκνυντο ῥώμης ὅσον εἶχον μέγιστον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, παραχρεώμενοί τε καὶ ἀτέοντες.⁷¹⁷

Again, their ῥώμη is amazing, but the Spartan warriors can only prove how great it is by recklessly giving their lives. Although Herodotus mentions ῥώμη in connection with some of the most important battles in his *Histories*, it is ultimately an ineffectual quality. Herodotus shows that the ῥώμη of the Persians and the three hundred Spartans is noteworthy, but this ῥώμη is not a determinant of victory in his eyes. Herodotus uses ῥώμη in military contexts

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid.*; How and Wells (1928) s.v. 9.70.

⁷¹⁶ Herodotus 8.113.3: "these were no fewer than the Persians in number but were inferior in strength."

⁷¹⁷ Herodotus 7.223.4: "since they knew death would result for them from those coming around the mountain, they showed recklessly and madly against the barbarians how very great the strength they had was."

much differently from Thucydides, since *ῥώμη* either comes from or results in victory in Thucydides.

5.4 Conclusion

Throughout his account of the Sicilian Expedition, Thucydides uses *ῥώμη* as a recurrent motif that invites the reader to compare the power of different combatants. The transformation of the material and mental *ῥώμη* represented by the initial expedition and Demosthenes' reinforcements into the broken physical *ῥώμη* of Nicias and the wounded is symptomatic of the decline of Athenian power and morale. Furthermore, the conflicting understanding of *ῥώμη* exhibited by Alcibiades and Nicias prefigures the latter's failure to direct Athenian power effectively. Even though Demosthenes came with *ῥώμη* equal to the initial force, the decision not to recall Nicias prevented that *ῥώμη* from changing morale on either side in a lasting way.

Although *ῥώμη* and related words require a number of different renderings in English, Thucydides develops a unified concept that significantly overlaps with the definition of morale advanced in chapter one.⁷¹⁸ Not only does possession or lack of *ῥώμη* reflect how high or low a group's morale is during the war in Sicily, Thucydides suggests that a lack of *ῥώμη* based on a feeling of guilt for breaking the treaty was behind Sparta's poor performance in the Archidamian War (7.18.1-2). Indeed, this passage reveals that Thucydides analyzed momentum in all phases of the war in terms of *ῥώμη*. Like high morale, *ῥώμη* involves confidence, reasonable expectations of success, physical well-being, and even a belief in the essential rightness of

⁷¹⁸ See chapter 1.1.

one's actions. Furthermore, possessing *ῥώμη* correlates to willingness to prosecute the war. The Lacedaemonians sued for peace after the campaign at Pylos revealed their lack of *ῥώμη* (4.18.3, 4.29.2, 4.36.2), and the Athenians only seriously negotiated when the deficiency of their own *ῥώμη* came to light (5.14.1). Thus, Thucydides has transformed a word that originally referred to physical strength into a basic descriptor of mental and material power during the war.

Although the occasional usage in Sophocles and Euripides are similar to the senses in which Thucydides uses *ῥώμη*, no other author explores *ῥώμη* as one of the most important qualities for war. Even Herodotus, who like his Ionian predecessor Xenophanes seems mostly to use *ῥώμη* to describe physical attributes, does not consider *ῥώμη* a determinant of victory. Thucydides is the first author to recognize *ῥώμη* as the psychological, material, and physical power that can bring success in warfare. And yet the vocabulary of *ῥώμη* does not only occur in Thucydides' own analysis in the narrative. Using the campaign in Sicily as a case study has shown that *ῥώμη* also appears in direct and indirect speeches in a way that contributes to Thucydides' implicit characterization of different groups and leaders. Understanding how Thucydides conceptualizes *ῥώμη* reveals the richness of his psychology of war, and the subsequent chapters will show how Thucydides innovatively uses other semantic fields to give a fuller picture of the morale of soldiers and cities throughout his account of the Peloponnesian War.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

As a general himself, Thucydides had firsthand knowledge of the importance of soldiers' morale, and his emphasis on seeing the entirety of the war shows that he was also able to observe the collective morale of city-states over the long term.⁷¹⁹ In books six and seven, morale becomes a major theme, as Thucydides repeatedly returns to the mindset of the Athenians, Syracusans, Lacedaemonians, and Corinthians. The confidence (ῥώμη) and enthusiasm (προθυμία) of Athens' enemies keep increasing, until the morale (ῥώμη) of the Athenians in Sicily totally disintegrates because Athens shows too much boldness (τόλμα) rather than courage (ἀνδρεία). Although the terms and methods of analysis constantly evolve, morale remains a chief concern even in contemporary conflicts. For instance, David Brooks explains that the rise of Hamas, Hezbollah, and Iran to prominence in the struggle in the Middle East has led to a "new game" that is

a struggle for confidence, a series of psychological exchanges designed to shift the balance of morale. The material destroyed in an episode can be replaced, but the psychological effects are more lasting. What is really important is how each episode ends, because the ending defines the meaning — who mastered events and who was mastered by them.⁷²⁰

Thucydides also relates a struggle to 'master events,' as shown by Nicias' deleterious effects on Athenian morale and Alcibiades' positive effects on the morale of the Lacedaemonians, the Corinthians, and, by extension, the

⁷¹⁹ T 4.104.4, 5.26.5.

⁷²⁰ Brooks (2009).

Syracusans. In Thucydides' view, it was the failure of Athens' leadership rather than military or material concerns that led to the Athenians' defeat.⁷²¹

Furthermore, the description and even experience of an individual's broken morale changes according to the nature of the conflict. In World War I, "shell shock" caused trembling, paralysis, and loss of sight or hearing; in World War II, "battle fatigue" or "war neurosis" caused nightmares, startling, and anxiety; in contemporary conflicts, the flashbacks, nightmares, and other symptoms of combat stress are attributed to "post-traumatic stress disorder."⁷²² The ancients tended to talk about morale in binary terms, contrasting eagerness and discipline to panic and fear,⁷²³ and Thucydides is no exception. In addition to negative forms of the major words discussed in this study, Thucydides shows how φόβος, ἔκπληξις, δέος, and a number of words or phrases referring to the reversal of expectations can undermine morale. Thucydides also relates terms like θάρσος, εὐψυχία, and εὐταξία to good morale,⁷²⁴ but the most important concepts for understanding morale in his *Histories* thematically are ἀνδρεία, τόλμα, προθυμία, and ῥώμη.

Since the investigations of ἀνδρεία, τόλμα, προθυμία, and ῥώμη are complete, it is now possible to reassess the two passages with which this discussion of morale started in chapter one. In 6.69.1, Thucydides' assessment of Syracusan morale weaves together numerous thematic threads and alerts the reader that the Athenians are facing a formidable adversary

⁷²¹ T 2.65.11, discussed at length below.

⁷²² Goode (2009).

⁷²³ Lendon (1999) 291.

⁷²⁴ Romilly (1956) 37 notes that θάρσος is conspicuously absent from descriptions of morale in the Sicilian Expedition, although Woodhead (1970) 40-50 relates Pericles to Athenian democratic θάρσος; see also chapter 2.1 on εὐψυχία and a use of εὐταξία by Hermocrates discussed in chapter 2.5.

despite their initial victory. This authorial statement is divided into two parts, first addressing Syracusan προθυμία and τόλμα, then ἀνδρεία and ἐπιστήμη:

οὐ γὰρ δὴ προθυμία ἐλλιπεῖς ἦσαν οὐδὲ τόλμη οὔτ' ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ οὔτ' ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις, ἀλλὰ τῇ μὲν ἀνδρείᾳ οὐχ ἥσσους ἐς ὅσον ἢ ἐπιστήμη ἀντέχοι, τῷ δὲ ἐλλείποντι αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν βούλησιν ἄκοντες προουδίδοσαν.⁷²⁵

The first half, with its combination of daring and enthusiasm, recalls the Athenians' claim to have shown the most daring enthusiasm (προθυμίαν δὲ καὶ πολὺ τολμηροτάτην) against Persia (1.74.2); but it also reinforces the rhetorical uses of προθυμία and τόλμα by Syracusan leaders within Thucydides' narrative of the Sicilian expedition. This positive depiction of Syracusan προθυμία is also enclosed by more negative portrayals of Athenian προθυμία at 6.68.4 and 6.69.3. The second half recalls the victory of the Spartans at Mantinea, in which their ἀνδρεία makes up for a deficiency in ἐμπειρία. Although the Syracusans cannot overcome their lack of ἐπιστήμη in this battle, Thucydides implies they eventually will through his authorial statement about Hermocrates' ἀνδρεία and ἐμπειρία (6.72.2) and Hermocrates' indirect speech about augmenting their ἀνδρεία by acquiring ἐπιστήμη through training (6.72.4). This implicit analysis of ἀνδρεία, experience, and skill also recalls the speeches and battles at Naupactus, and Thucydides depicts the Syracusans here as combining the best qualities of both the Athenian and Peloponnesian forces there. Thus, although the Syracusans lose this initial battle, Thucydides prepares the reader to understand their ultimate victory even in their first unsuccessful engagement.

⁷²⁵ T 6.69.1: "In fact, they were not deficient in enthusiasm or daring either in this battle or in the others; and they were no worse in courage as long as their knowledge held out, but when it ran short they unwillingly gave up their resolve as well."

In 7.18.2, one of his most substantial and wide-ranging excursuses on morale,⁷²⁶ Thucydides comments on Lacedaemonian morale near the beginning of the Deceleian War in a way that also sheds new light on their morale during the Archidamian War. In addition, this passage is part of a larger motif of power flowing from Athens to her enemies during the war in Sicily. The Lacedaemonians are preparing an invasion when they hear about Demosthenes' relief force for the Athenians in Sicily, and Alcibiades instructs (ἐδίδασκε) them to fortify Decelea and not relax their war efforts.⁷²⁷ Then,

Thucydides discusses both the ῥώμη and προθυμία of the Lacedaemonians:
 μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐγγεγνήτο τις ῥώμη, διότι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐνόμιζον διπλοῦν τὸν πόλεμον ἔχοντας, πρὸς τε σφᾶς καὶ Σικελιώτας, εὐκαθαιρετωτέρους ἔσεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τὰς σπονδὰς προτέρους λελυκέναι ἡγοῦντο αὐτούς· ἐν γὰρ τῷ προτέρῳ πολέμῳ σφέτερον τὸ παρανόμημα μᾶλλον γενέσθαι, ὅτι τε ἐς Πλάταιαν ἦλθον Θηβαῖοι ἐν σπονδαῖς, καὶ εἰρημένον ἐν ταῖς πρότερον ξυνθήκαις ὅπλα μὴ ἐπιφέρειν, ἣν δίκας ἐθέλωσι διδόναι, αὐτοὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουον ἐς δίκας προκαλουμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἰκότως δυστυχεῖν τε ἐνόμιζον, καὶ ἐνεθυμοῦντο τήν τε περὶ Πύλον ξυμφορὰν καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς τριάκοντα ναυσὶν ἐξ Ἄργους ὁρμώμενοι Ἐπιδαύρου τέ τι καὶ Πρασιῶν καὶ ἄλλα ἐδήωσαν καὶ ἐκ Πύλου ἅμα ἐληστεύοντο, καὶ ὁσάκις περὶ τοῦ διαφοραὶ γένοιτο τῶν κατὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ἀμφισβητουμένων, ἐς δίκας προκαλουμένων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐκ ἤθελον ἐπιτρέπειν, τότε δὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι νομίσαντες τὸ παρανόμημα, ὅπερ καὶ σφίσι πρότερον ἡμάρτητο, αὖθις ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ αὐτὸ περιστάναι, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον.⁷²⁸

⁷²⁶ Hornblower 3 648.

⁷²⁷ T 7.18.1. Compare the claim of Brasidas that his διδοχή will encourage his soldiers (4.126.4, discussed above in section 2.5)

⁷²⁸ 7.18.2-3: "A certain strength most of all had come to the Lacedaemonians, since they believed that Athenians, with a two-front war on their hands, against the Lacedaemonians and the Sicilians, would be more easily subdued; and because they thought the Athenians had broken the treaty first. In the earlier conflict, they thought they themselves were more at fault, since the Thebans attacked Plataea under treaty; and because it was stipulated in the earlier treaty that they would not take up arms if the two parties were willing to participate in arbitration, but they did not submit to arbitration when the Athenians asked. Therefore, they believed it was right to suffer misfortune, and they took to heart the disaster at Pylos and

Thucydides uses ring composition both to enclose the digression on war guilt and within the digression itself. Ῥώμη at the beginning of the sentence is picked up by πρόθυμοι at the end of the digression. Furthermore, the repetition of παρὰ νόμημα, first attributed to the Peloponnesians and then to the Athenians, enacts the “coming around” described by περιστάναι.⁷²⁹ The foregrounding of this transgression explains why Thucydides shifts from Ῥώμη to προθυμία. Both the noun παρὰ νόμημα and the verb ἐνεθυμοῦντο, which Thucydides uses to describe the Lacedaemonians’ reactions to their misfortunes, give the discussion of war guilt a quasi-religious undertone.⁷³⁰ Thus, πρόθυμοι describes their emotional response to the Athenians’ perceived guilt, and their enthusiasm is also a reversal of the reaction to the earlier misfortunes that Thucydides described with ἐνεθυμοῦντο, another word from the same root.

The Lacedaemonian Ῥώμη, however, is explained by two parallel clauses introduced by διότι and καὶ ὅτι, giving equal weight to the Athenians’ weakness due to the two front war and their violation of the treaty. Although Ῥώμη and προθυμία often have similar meanings, chapters four and five have shown that Ῥώμη is exclusively positive and typically more rational, but προθυμία can be positive or negative and is more emotional. This distinction can be seen in the current passage, since high morale is more rational and likely to bring victory when based on the enemy’s strategic difficulties as well

anything else that happened to them. But after the Athenians setting off from Argos with thirty ships were ravaging the lands of Epidaurus, Prasiae, and other places and were mounting raids from Pylos, and were not willing to participate in arbitration whenever differences arose concerning something agreed in the treaty, even though the Lacedaemonians called for arbitration; then the Lacedaemonians considered the same fault that had formerly been their own to be the Athenians’ and were enthusiastic for war.”

⁷²⁹ Hornblower 3 575.

⁷³⁰ Hornblower 3 573-575.

as one's own feelings of moral outrage. Furthermore, Thucydides made the falling of the Athenians' and the rising of their enemies' ῥώμη a theme of books six and seven. Alcibiades not only reinforces Lacedaemonian ῥώμη with his advice about Decelea, he also gives them the ῥώμη to send Gylippus to Syracuse (6.93.1), resulting in an increase in ῥώμη for the Syracusans and the Corinthians, too (7.2.1, 7.17.3).

Alcibiades is not the only leader who has profound effects on morale during the war in Sicily. Hermocrates, Gylippus, and Nicias also play major roles. Since leaders most readily elicit the qualities that they themselves show from others, Thucydides' descriptions of leaders and their speeches are often mutually reinforcing. Hermocrates, whom Thucydides calls a man of ἀνδρεία and ἐμπειρία (6.72.2), convinces the Syracusans to take steps to augment their ἀνδρεία with skill and expertise (6.72.4). Since this follows closely on Thucydides' own explanation that the Syracusans' first defeat was due to a lack of ἐπιστήμη rather than a deficiency of τόλμα, προθυμία, or ἀνδρεία, the reader can infer that Syracuse will ultimately win and that Hermocrates will play a central role in the victory. Hermocrates also repeatedly advises his countrymen to match Athenian τόλμα with their own, both before and after Thucydides himself vouches for Syracusan τόλμα. In his first speech in favor of bold action against the Athenians, Hermocrates also emphasizes rational precautions (6.34.8). Later, Hermocrates helps persuade the Syracusans to show the προθυμία for a sea battle by claiming that unexpected daring will overcome the Athenians' advantage in expertise, even using the rare verb ἀντιτολμᾶν to describe setting their own daring against the Athenians' (7.21.3-4). Although the Syracusans lose this first sea battle, Hermocrates'

emphasis on τόλμα and προθυμία is part of a broader theme of Athenian-Syracusan similarity that culminates in total Syracusan victory.

The Spartan general Gylippus also contributes to the morale of the Syracusans and their allies in important ways. Unlike the factious Athenians, Gylippus and the Syracusan leadership seem to work together smoothly. Thucydides reports Gylippus and Hermocrates working together to persuade the Syracusans to dare their first sea battle (7.21), and the speech of Gylippus and the generals before the climactic battle in the Great Harbor (7.67.1) picks up the themes of ἐπιστήμη, τόλμα, and προθυμία from Hermocrates' speeches and Thucydides' early assessment of Syracusan morale (6.69.1). Gylippus argues that the Syracusans' constant τόλμα and recently acquired ἐπιστήμη will increase their προθυμία, and the narrative of the battle validates his claim. Gylippus also has more immediate effects on the morale of the Syracusans and their Sicilian allies. When he seems to arrive with προθυμία, some potential Syracusan allies become more enthusiastic (7.1.4), and the Syracusans themselves gain ῥώμη (7.2.1). Gylippus subsequently goes around to ensure the προθυμία of any wavering allies (7.7.2), and after victory in their first battle against Demosthenes' relief force instills ῥώμη in the Syracusans, he goes to round up more troops (7.46.1). Thus, Gylippus not only reinforces the values that lead to Syracusan success, he also capitalizes on his own reputation and that of his countrymen to raise Syracusan and allied morale at critical moments.

The Athenian leaders, however, are not nearly as unified and effective during the war in Sicily as the Syracusan leadership. Nicias has trouble raising the προθυμία and ῥώμη of the Athenian soldiers, and the only time he mentions the Athenians' favorite quality, τόλμα, is in reference to the

Syracusans. Nicias did not want to command the expedition (6.23.3), so it is no surprise that he advocates showing προθυμία for their Sicilian allies by quickly coasting around Sicily and then sailing home (6.47.1), rather than actually fighting with enthusiasm alongside them. Before the first major land battle in Sicily, Nicias tells his men that the Syracusans' τόλμα cannot make up for their lack of ἐπιστήμη and exhorts them to show προθυμία (6.68.2, 6.68.4). Although Thucydides confirms that a lack of ἐπιστήμη hinders the Syracusans in this initial battle, he also emphasizes their τόλμα and προθυμία, setting the stage for the Syracusans' ultimate victory once they gain ἐπιστήμη. Even when the soldiers under Nicias achieve victory, Thucydides emphasizes the moral qualities of their opponents. Nicias also sees his men's ἀθυμία before the battle in the Great Harbor and tries to counteract it (7.60.5, 7.61.2). In the same speech, he concedes that the Syracusans have ῥώμη but claims his men will be able to overcome it (7.63.4). Otherwise, Nicias only refers to his own lack of physical ῥώμη (7.15.2, 7.77.2), mirroring the withering of Athenian military ῥώμη under his command. Although Nicias finally shows προθυμία when he is trying to encourage his defeated and desperate men, he is unable to improve their morale (7.76.1). Furthermore, Thucydides emphasizes Nicias' προθυμία for Spartan interests when describing his execution (7.86.3), echoing the προθυμία Nicias showed for ending the Archidamian War.

Unlike Nicias, Alcibiades is extremely effective at eliciting προθυμία and ῥώμη, so his defections greatly affect morale on both sides. Furthermore, Alcibiades redefines the relationship between city and leader, claiming that a leader is on par with the city rather than being subordinate to it like other citizens, and Thucydides' insistence on Athens' needing Alcibiades gives this

argument some merit.⁷³¹ Alcibiades most enthusiastically supports the expedition to Sicily (6.15.2), arguing in part that Lacedaemonian ῥώμη cannot interfere, since it is limited to land (6.17.8). After going over to Sparta, however, Alcibiades increases the προθυμία of the Lacedaemonians and helps unlock their ῥώμη. Alcibiades makes a speech because the Lacedaemonian leaders are lacking προθυμία (6.88.10), aiming to convince the Lacedaemonians to aid Syracuse enthusiastically (6.92.1). He also refers to his personal προθυμία during the earlier peace negotiations being rebuffed in favor of his enemy Nicias (6.89.2), and tries to excuse enthusiastically attacking Athens because it has become hostile to him (6.92.2). These arguments highlight the divisions between Alcibiades and his former partners in command as well as the general political tensions at Athens. Thucydides explains that the speech gives the Spartans ῥώμη, and they send Gylippus to Syracuse (6.93.1). The arrival of Gylippus increases the ῥώμη of the Syracusans in turn (7.2.1), so Alcibiades' defection represents a concrete transfer of power from Athens to Sparta and Syracuse. The effects of Alcibiades' advice about Decelea on Spartan morale have been discussed above, but Alcibiades also influences morale as the war moves into the Aegean. Before his exile from Sparta, he claims he will convince the Ionians of Spartan προθυμία (8.12.1). Later, Alcibiades enthusiastically attaches himself to Tissaphernes (8.52.1), but his betrayal ultimately causes Tissaphernes to lose ῥώμη (8.83.2). Finally, a message from Alcibiades increases the ῥώμη of the Athenians who were disaffected with the oligarchy (8.89.1). Thus, Thucydides personally implicates Alcibiades in many of the

⁷³¹ Forde (1989) 7. Compare Thucydides' explanation that every individual and city had ῥώμη at the beginning of the war (2.8.4).

critical changes in morale during the later phases of the Peloponnesian War. Although Alcibiades shares and inflames the uncontrolled desire that prompts the expedition to Sicily, he himself is not explicitly associated with the Athenians' reckless τόλμα. Instead, Thucydides implies that other Athenians' τόλμα led to internal strife and the senseless recall of their ablest general in Sicily.

This analysis of Athenian leadership in books six and seven invites a reappraisal of Thucydides judgment of the Sicilian expedition in book two. Rather than explicitly citing the leadership of the generals in Sicily, Thucydides attributes the failure to bad Athenian decision making. Thucydides also associates the failure of the expedition with internal conflict at Athens:

ἐξ ὧν ἄλλα τε πολλά, ὥς ἐν μεγάλῃ πόλει καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐχούσῃ, ἡμαρτήθη καὶ ὁ ἐς Σικελίαν πλοῦς, ὃς οὐ τοσοῦτον γνώμης ἀμάρτημα ἦν πρὸς οὓς ἐπῆσαν, ὅσον οἱ ἐκπέμψαντες οὐ τὰ πρόσφορα τοῖς οἰχομένοις ἐπιγινώσκοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας διαβολὰς περὶ τῆς τοῦ δήμου προστασίας τὰ τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀμβλύτερα ἐποίουν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν πρῶτον ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐταράχθησαν.⁷³²

As Thucydides explains,⁷³³ Alcibiades' personal enemies were responsible for stirring up public opinion against him, corresponding to the "private quarrels over the leadership of the People." In addition, the "discord first introduced in the city's other affairs" means the beginnings of civil unrest that Thucydides highlights through the tyrannicide digression as the Athenians' passions led them to act irrationally. Although the ἔρωξ and τόλμα related to the genesis

⁷³² T 2.65.11: "This, as might have been expected in a great and sovereign state, produced a host of blunders, and amongst them the Sicilian expedition; though this failed not so much through an error in judgment about those against whom it was sent, as through a fault in the senders in not making additional decisions beneficial to those who had gone out, but choosing rather to occupy themselves with private quarrels over leadership of the People, by which they not only paralyzed operations in the field, but also first introduced civil discord at home" (adapted from Crawley's translation).

⁷³³ T 6.61.1.

of the expedition can be seen to foreshadow its disastrous end, Athenian defeat was not inevitable. Competent and respected leadership can moderate τόλμα, so that it destroys only one's enemies. Pericles was able to do so for the Athenians, and Hermocrates did the same for the Syracusans. The moderating power of a strong leader is crucial in controlling τόλμα.

Furthermore, my analysis of προθυμία and ῥώμη in Thucydides' account of the Sicilian expedition fills in the details of Thucydides' claim that the Athenians did not properly support the men in Sicily. Connor argues that the failure of the Athenians to make the right decisions in support of those they sent out refers not only to the recall of Alcibiades but also the failure to recall Nicias, who tries to resign his command three times in Thucydides' narrative.⁷³⁴ The loss of Alcibiades' skills at reinforcing προθυμία and ῥώμη greatly hinders the war effort, especially since he applies those skills to the Athenians' enemies. Just as important, however, is Nicias' lack of personal ῥώμη and inability to control his men's προθυμία. Nicias gives the Athenians clear indications that he is unable to manage his men's morale effectively, but they continue to trust him to command. Thucydides shows that leaders are most successful at eliciting the qualities they show themselves from others, so the personal contrasts between Nicias and Alcibiades are also reflected in their command abilities. Thus, continued trust in the unenthusiastic and sickly Nicias represents a clear failure of Athenian decision making, a failure that is symptomatic of the internal divisions that lead to *stasis* at Athens.

This analysis of morale in Thucydides' narrative also points to a further conclusion, namely that Thucydides has what might be termed a conservative

⁷³⁴ Connor (1984) 189, especially n9.

outlook. Edmunds has argued, on the basis of the *stasis* description in 3.82-83, that Thucydides' ethical sympathies reflect a traditional and "archaic pattern of ethical thought."⁷³⁵ He shows that the form of the ethical inversions that characterize *stasis* and Thucydides' preference for qualities with "forethought and prudence" are also typical of traditional ethical thought evident as early as Hesiod.⁷³⁶ Thucydides' views on morale also reveal a conservative military ethic. My study identifies what might be termed a conservative bias in both Thucydides' use of the vocabulary of ἀνδρεία and his depiction of the Athenians' unrestrained and irrational passions in books six and seven. The appearances of ἀνδρεία in the *Histories* show that Thucydides highly values the virtues associated with hoplite warfare. The ambivalent portrayal of τόλμα, despite its frequent military effectiveness, also reflects Thucydides' conservatism. Irrational τόλμα characterizes not only the Athenians during the war in Sicily but also the actions of Harmodius and Aristogeiton. This, coupled with his high praise of the Peisistratid regime, shows Thucydides' preference for the Athenians' traditional values of the Archaic period. Although Thucydides' narrative depicts the Peloponnesian War as a time of great upheaval and innovation, both politically and militarily, Thucydides himself is uncomfortable with these changes and looked back favorably on the simpler times of the past.

Thucydides' military conservatism is rooted in hoplite values, as a comparison to Herodotus' judgment of the bravest Spartan at Plataea shows. The Spartans give no prize to Aristodemus, because he went berserk and left

⁷³⁵ Edmunds (1975b) 74-75.

⁷³⁶ Edmunds (1975b) 91-92.

his place to fight with no concern for his own or his comrades' safety, but

Herodotus calls him the bravest:

Καίτοι, γενομένης λέσχης ὃς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος, ἔγνωσαν οἱ παραγενόμενοι Σπαρτιητέων Ἀριστόδημον μὲν βουλόμενον φανερώς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ τῆς παρεούσης οἱ αἰτίας, λυσσῶντά τε καὶ ἐκλείποντα τὴν τάξιν ἔργα ἀποδέξασθαι μεγάλα, Ποσειδώνιον δὲ οὐ βουλόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν· τοσοῦτ' αὖ τοῦτον εἶναι ἀμείνω.⁷³⁷

Herodotus is more in sympathy with the older, Homeric ideals of bravery, which allow for frenzied individual fighting.⁷³⁸ The Spartans, however, honor Posidonius, showing that they distinguish the semblance of courage that is “mad fury” from the true courage of someone who fights with awareness of what he may lose and performs bravely nonetheless.⁷³⁹ Thucydides associates the unambiguously good quality ἀνδρεία with the Spartans and the ambivalent quality τόλμα with the Athenians, reflecting his preference for the relatively ‘fair’ clash of hoplite formations to the bold and impulsive actions that brought extraordinary but ultimately unsustainable successes in the Peloponnesian War. Furthermore, his attribution of ἀνδρεία to the Syracusans, who defend themselves against the Athenians much like the Athenians defended themselves from the Persians, also implies a longing for the just wars of the past.

⁷³⁷ Herodotus 9.71.3: “Nevertheless, when there was a general discussion about who had borne himself most bravely, those Spartans who were there judged that Aristodemus, who plainly wished to die because of the reproach hanging over him and so rushed out and left the battle column behind, had achieved great deeds, but that Posidonius, who had no wish to die, proved himself a courageous fighter, and so in this way he was the better man” (tr. Godley).

⁷³⁸ Lendon (2005) 84.

⁷³⁹ Miller (2000) 19.

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